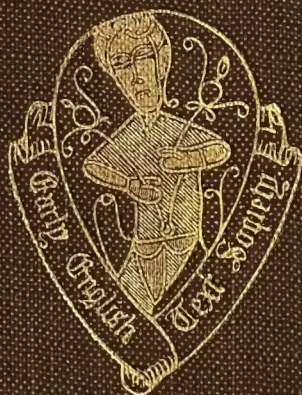


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Barclay's Eclogues

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Original Series, No. 175

1928 (for 1927)

PRICE 25s.

Certayne Egloges

of Alexander Barclay Priest,

Whereof the first three conteyne the miseryes
of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall,

Gathered out of a booke named in Latin,

MISERIE CVRIATIVM, compiled

by Eneas Silvius Poet and
Oratour.

¶ The Prologe.

The famous Poetes both the Goyles mine
with wit inspired, fresh, pregnant and divine,
Wherof I have in this substaunce all:
Some in shepheard lye and herocall,

Some them by lye in heayp & cagedden,
And some in companye of wylde & fowlen.
Some in shepheard against wylde does charge,
Some in theyr fowles accompanye with the herge.
And orde of shepall had lands and excellencie
After their season and stile of eloquence.
Who in theyr shepche could bestly comprehend
The freestall matter, men told him wote commend.
And to be more freestall, and in shepche superfluous,
Wher by their writinge clearly lets go.
At heretore in the doctores to herge and proue their wit,
In herge to lye, to yote wote a more fit.
Before they be of shepche

Adventures of shepche to yote each gemitte.
In this lye under the famous & herocite
First in shepche attempt to lye to lye
Certayne Egloges of shepche pastall.
In shepche to lye, men herge and herocall.
To lye in shepche lye, men herge and herocall.
Wherof I have in this substaunce all:
Some in shepheard lye and herocall,
Some them by lye in heayp & cagedden,
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Some in shepheard against wylde does charge,
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To lye in shepche lye, men herge and herocall.
Wherof I have in this substaunce all:
Some in shepheard lye and herocall,
Some them by lye in heayp & cagedden,
And some in companye of wylde & fowlen.

Cowper matter, like as these children be,
Which first be to creep, and afterwarde to go,
The birde bounde full flying from her nest
Ware not advantage, and is not bolde nor prest
Wily to lye against to lye as both the olde,
For lye and custome can lye all thing be bolde:
And lye cunning by craft and exercise
To perle custome can lye a man to lye.
But of the Cowper can lye his craft strange,
Wherof I have in this substaunce all:
Some in shepheard lye and herocall,
Some them by lye in heayp & cagedden,
And some in companye of wylde & fowlen.
Some in shepheard against wylde does charge,
Some in theyr fowles accompanye with the herge.
And orde of shepall had lands and excellencie
After their season and stile of eloquence.
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And to be more freestall, and in shepche superfluous,
Wher by their writinge clearly lets go.
At heretore in the doctores to herge and proue their wit,
In herge to lye, to yote wote a more fit.
Before they be of shepche

The
Eclogues of Alexander Barclay

FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION

BY

JOHN CAWOOD

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

BEATRICE WHITE, M.A.

LONDON

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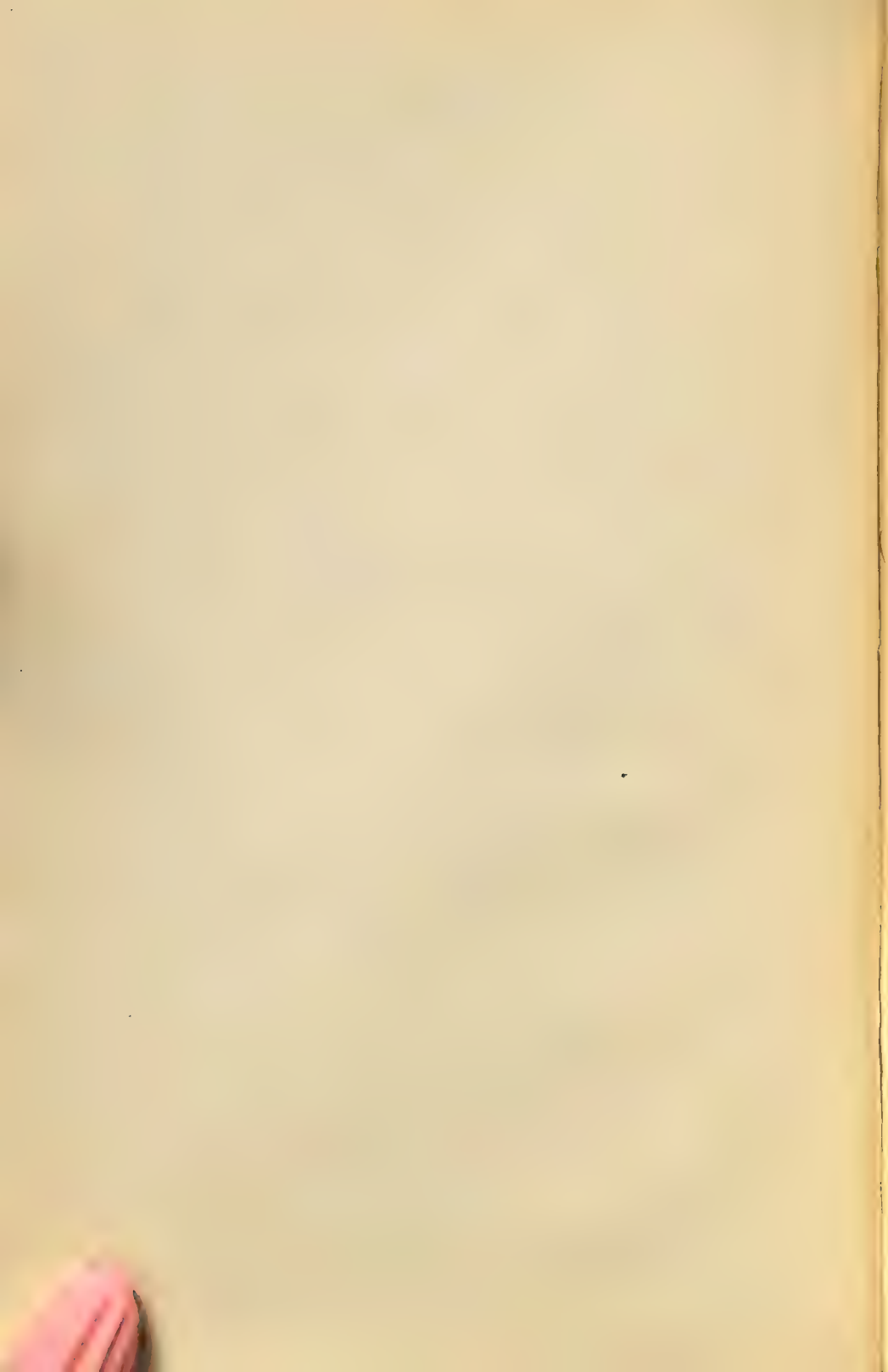
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To
Professor A. W. Reed



PREFACE

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have helped with the making of this book. In particular I am indebted to Mr. Leslie E. Bliss, Librarian of the H. E. Huntington Library, San Gabriel, California, who, at the request of Professor A. W. Pollard, C.B., very kindly sent me readings from the Library's unique edition of the Fourth Eclogue, printed by Pynson; to Mr. H. J. Byrom, for an important reference, and last, but not least, to Professor A. W. Reed, University of London, under whom my studies on Barclay were carried through at King's College, for his unfailing help and encouragement.

In this edition the punctuation of the English and Latin originals has been preserved, as contributing to the interest of the text. For the rather formidable list of errata I ask the indulgence of the reader. The large proportion of Latin prose and verse and its precise arrangement on the page, made the preparation of the edition an exacting task for both editor and printers.

I hope that the inclusion of the Latin sources of the Eclogues will be found useful by everyone who is interested in Tudor translators and their methods.

B. W.

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LIST OF ERRATA

ECLOGUE I

- l. 1104. For 'As as' read 'As an.'

ECLOGUE II

- p. 73. Latin, l. 5. For 'quamis' read 'quamuis.'
l. 1292. Supply footnote, Cawood 'not.'

ECLOGUE III

- l. 300. For 'in' read 'in¹.'
l. 523. Supply footnote, Cawood 'Cornix.'

ECLOGUE IV

- l. 887. For 'stature' read 'stature².'
l. 1136. For 'Cornix' read 'Cornix².'

ECLOGUE V

- l. 220. For 'have' read 'haue.'
l. 803. For 'a[v]owe' read 'a[u]owe.'
p. 212. Latin, l. 8. For 'qæsitās' read 'quæsitās.'
l. 977. For 'Vice' read 'Uice.'

NOTES

- p. 219, last line. For 'J. Humphrey Powell' read 'Humphrey Powell.'
p. 222, last line. For 'librair~~n~~' read 'libraire.'
p. 228. For Note 12 read Note 10 (cont.).
p. 232. Note 1, Page 32. For 'critur' read 'oritur.'
p. 247. Note 1, Page 103. For 'not' read 'not.'
p. 258. Footnote 1. For 'dea bergières' read 'des bergières.'
p. 261. French, l. 2. For 'haute monts' read 'hauts monts.'
p. 267. Note 2, Page 197, l. 12. For 'amibat' read 'ambibat.'

INTRODUCTION

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER BARCLAY

ALEXANDER BARCLAY'S nationality has been the subject of a long and untiring controversy. It seems probable that he was born about the year 1476; for internal evidence points strongly to the fact that the Eclogues were written in the early years of Henry VIII's reign (1513 or 1514), and in the Prologue to these poems, Barclay speaks of his being in age 'fortie yere save twayne.'

The mass of critical opinion supports the theory that the poet was of Scottish origin. John Bale, bishop of Ossory, wavers in his statements, and finally refuses to commit himself. In his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, or Autograph Notebook, Barclay is referred to as 'Scotus,' on the authority of 'Nicolaus Brigan et alii,' and 'Anglus,' on the authority of 'John Allen.'² Barclay's name appears in the *Additio* of the 1548³ edition of the *Catalogus*, followed by a short comment, 'Alexander Barkeley, Scotus, rhetor ac poeta insignis.'

¹ *Nicholas Brigan* or Brigham—mentioned by Bale (*Scriptores*, 1557-9) as Latin scholar and antiquarian, who gave up literature to practise in the law courts and who flourished in 1550. Pits adds that he was a good orator and no common poet, and that in 1555 he built a tomb for the bones of Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. He is possibly to be identified with Nicholas Brigham, a 'teller' of the exchequer, who died in 1558. D. N. B.

² *John Allen*. The identification of Allen is difficult. In two instances Bale notes—'ex Joanne Alen pictore,' in a third—'ex studio Joannis Alen,' and in a fourth—'ex officina Joannis Alen.' He may have been a printer or a painter and is not to be confounded with the English divine (1476-1534) who in 1528 was elected archbishop of Dublin and who met a violent death in 1534 at the hands of the followers of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

³ 1548. *Illustr. Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum*. Joannem Overton: Gippeswici.

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In the later¹ and considerably larger edition of his work Bale says of Barclay: 'quem alii Scotum alii Anglū fuisse contendūt.' Pitsæus² gives his verdict in the *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*—'Alexander Barcleius, quibusdam Scotus fuisse videtur, sed Anglus vere fuit, patria, ut probabile est, Devoniensis.'

Holinshed³ definitely states that the poet was 'a Scot' and Dempster⁴ follows him. Wadding is non-committal—'Alexander Barcleius, de cujus ortu Scoti et Angli contendunt.' Wood⁵ is more courageous—'Alexander de Barklay seems to have been born at or near a town so called in Somersetshire.' Warton⁶ thinks that Barclay 'most probably was of Devonshire or Gloucestershire.' Ritson,⁷ Irving,⁸ Mackenzie,⁹ Sibbald¹⁰ and Bliss¹¹ strongly adhere to the theory of Scottish birth. That there is good contemporary evidence for the plausibility of this theory has been noticed by more recent critics.

In 1564 William Bullein,¹² a native of Ely, and a well-

¹ 1557-1559. *Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie*. Apud Joannem Oporinum. Basilæ, p. 723.

² *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis MDC XIX*, p. 745.

³ Holinshed. *Chronicle*, p. 1087. 'Alexander Barkleie a Scot, a notable poet, and a good rhetorician, departed this life in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two.'

⁴ Dempster. *Historia Ecclesiastica*, p. 106 and p. 96.

⁵ Anthony Wood. *Athenæ Oxonienses*. Vol. I, pp. 205-9.

⁶ Warton. *History of English Poetry*. Edition 1778. Vol. II, p. 240.

⁷ Ritson. *Bibliographia Poetica*, pp. 44-46.

⁸ Irving. *History of Scottish Poetry*.

⁹ Mackenzie. *Lives and Characters of Scottish Writers*. Vol. II, pp. 287-295.

¹⁰ Sibbald. *Chronicle of Scottish Poetry*. Vol. II, pp. 396-7.

¹¹ Bliss. Notes to Wood's *Athenæ*.

¹² Bulleyn or Bullein. The dedicatory epistle of his *Dialogue* was addressed to 'Maister Edward Barrette of Belhous of Essex Esquier,' and dated 'This twelfe of March 1564.' The title-page says, 'Newly corrected,' but no earlier edition is known to exist. It is probable that 'newly corrected' was a publisher's flourish, and that there was no earlier impression of the book. It was reissued in 1573 and again in

Introduction: The Life of Alexander Barclay

known physician, published his 'Dialogue bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimente against the fever Pestilence with a consolacion and comfort against death.' This contains a good deal of medical lore, interspersed with amusing observations and descriptions. Among the latter is an elaborate account of Parnassus, put into the mouth of Crispine, an apothecary, who, having mentioned Homer, Hesiod, Ennius and Lucan, proceeds to describe Gower, Lidgate, Chaucer, Skelton and Barclay.

The notice of Barclay is not a long one, but its importance is vital to the biographer:

'Then Bartlet, with an hoopyng russet long coate, with a pretie hoode in his necke and five knottes upon his girdle after Francis tricks. He was borne beyonde the cold river of Twede.'

This piece of evidence, coming as it does, from a contemporary and from an Ely man,¹ is a valuable aid in deciding the issue of a much-debated problem.

Barclay himself does not shed much light on the mystery of his birth. He seems to have admired the Scottish king, for the *Ship of Fools*, written at St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire, 1508-9, contains six² stanzas devoted to vigorous praise of James IV.

These six stanzas follow immediately after some adulatory lines on Henry VIII which were more or less obligatory in a long pretentious poem and which the poet had adapted from Locher's praise of the Emperor Maximilian, noting the fact in the margin, thus—

1578, and must have been fairly popular, for Nash refers to it in his 'Address to all Christian Readers,' prefixed to 'Have with you to Saffron Waldon,' 1596.

¹ There is a valuable account of William Bullein in A. H. Bullen's *Elizabethans*.

² Stanzas 1570-1575. The chapter in Barclay is entitled 'Of the ruyne and decay of the holy sayth catholyke and dymynucion of the Empyre.' Pynson, 1509, fol. ccxii, Cawood, 1570; fol. 200, Jamieson, p. 192. Vol. II.

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‘Mutatur laus maximiliani romanorum regis in laudem henrici octavi anglorum regis.’

The lines on James IV of Scotland are original and not called for by the context. In the margin Barclay writes:

‘Addicio alexandri Barclay. Jacobi scotorum regis strenuissimi a magnanimitate laus summa.’

James is represented as prudent, strong, magnanimous, and bold. There is a personal tone about the stanzas, as if Barclay had more than an Englishman’s interest in Scottish affairs. He even takes the trouble to write an acrostic on Jacobus!

st. 1572:

‘I n prudence pereles is this moste comely kynge
A nd as for his strength and magnanymyte
C oncernynge his noble dedes in every thyng
O ne founde *on* grounde lyke to hym can nat be
B y byrth borne to boldnes and audacyte
U nder the bolde planet of Mars the champyon
S urely to subdue his ennemyes echone.’

But the Scottish king is poor, and here there is a very strong personal flavour:

st. 1573:

‘Mars hath hym chosyn: all other set asyde
To be in practyse of Batayle without pere
Save ryches lacketh his manfull myght to gyde
He hath nat plentye of all thyng as is here
The cause is that stormes in season of the yere
Destroyeth the corne engendrynge so scarsnes
Which thyng moche hurteth this Prynces
worthynes.’

Such lines¹ appear to spring from strong national feeling, and written as they were just a few years before

¹ Pompen. *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 154.

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Flodden Field, they seem to be a possible testimony that the man who composed them was Scottish in sympathy and tradition if not actually by birth.

On the other hand it should be remembered that the bulk of the *Ship of Fools* was written during the reign of Henry VII, and that the praises of Henry VIII were originally intended as eulogies of his father and adapted to meet altered circumstances after his death. In this case it is not improbable that the whole passage may be an elaborate and diplomatic reflection of Henry VII's policy of peace with Scotland. Both Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry exerted themselves to the utmost to detach the Scots from their hereditary alliance with France, and in 1503 this was thought to have been effected by the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter, Margaret, to the Scottish King, James IV.

There are numerous other references to Scots and Scotland scattered throughout Barclay's works, but none with such a distinct personal colouring. However, in the *Mirror of Good Maners* (Pynson c. 1523, Cawood 1570) the following stanza occurs, and has not, I think, been noticed before. It is quite original and gratuitous and occurs in the section of the poem devoted to a discussion of 'Temperance,' with the title, 'Of the duetie of a Citizen anenst a forriner':¹

'When from this wretched life at last thou must depart,
And come to heaven gates to see the eternall king,
It shall not be asked what countrey man thou art,
Frenche, English, *Scot*, Lombard, Picard or Fleming,
But onely shalbe asked thy merite and living,
A poore *Scot* of good life shall finde him better then,
Then some riche Lumbarde, or noble English man.'

There is a suspicion of sadness here that would seem to indicate that Barclay had not always found kind treatment in the country of his adoption.

¹Pynson's edition sign. g. 6. Cawood's edition sign. f. 5 v.

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Although it appears likely that Barclay was of Scottish nationality, it is only fair to those biographers who held an opposite view, to state that there is a probability that Barclay may have been born of Scottish parents in England, and have inherited a respect and love for Scottish traditions from them.

All through his life Barclay was connected with the southern counties, and there is nothing strange in the fact that Wood should assign him to Somersetshire, or Warton¹ to Devonshire or Gloucestershire. Poor Wood² has been severely censured by Irving³ for calling the poet Alexander de Barklay, and for saying that he probably came from a place of the same name in Somerset. He is justified in the one instance because Barclay himself, in the uncertain spelling of the time, writes his name 'Alexander de Barklay' in his translation of the Prologue of James Locher,⁴ introducing the *Ship of Fools*; and in the other because there is, in spite of Irving's statement to the contrary, a place-name Berkeley in Somersetshire.

In John Collinson's *History of Somerset*,⁵ there is a description of Berkeley, a small parish in the hundred of Frome. Moreover, the historian of the county says:

'This parish gave birth and name to Alexander de Berkley or Barclay, an elegant writer of the sixteenth century.'

The Gloucestershire Berkeleys were a very ancient noble family. According to the genealogical tree included in Fosbroke's *History of Gloucester*,⁶ the Scottish Barclays descended from the sixth son, Richard, of

¹ *History of English Poetry*. Ed. 1778. Vol. II, p. 240.

² *Athene Oxonienses*.

³ *History of Scottish Poetry*.

⁴ Pynson, fol. vi; Jamieson, p. 5.

⁵ *History of Somerset*. Vol. II, p. 202.

⁶ *History of Gloucester*. Vol. I, p. 451.

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Maurice, third Lord of Berkeley. A *History of the Scottish Barclays*,¹ compiled a few years ago, mentions:

‘The Scottish Barclays are cadets of the ancient House of Berkeley in Gloucestershire.’

The name Alexander Barclay seems to have been quite a common one, for it occurs frequently in the ‘History’ of the main branch of the Scottish family, though there is no reference which could possibly be applied to the poet. It is not outrageous, then, to connect him with Gloucestershire, since the powerful family, of which he was to be a not insignificant member, had its origin there.

Nothing but the intimate knowledge Barclay displays in the *Ship of Fools* of the district, and the fact that he was employed at the College of Saint Mary, Ottery, could authorize Warton and Pits² before him, to claim Devonshire as the county of the poet’s birth.

But the authority of such facts is valuable authority, and completely justifies the attempt to associate Barclay with a county obviously familiar to him, when so much of his life is shrouded in obscurity.

Jamieson³ adduces the Scottish element in Barclay’s vocabulary as a very strong proof of his Scottish origin. But, as Aurelius Pompen⁴ has remarked in his book on the English Versions of the *Ship of Fools*, the words cited by Jamieson as typically Scotch at this period, were not exclusively Scotch but common in the dialectal English of the day. Theories based on words when the language was in a state of flux, will not hold water.

If he were born in Scotland, and it is impossible to be dogmatic about such a very uncertain matter, Barclay

¹ *History of the Scottish Barclays*, 1915, p. 1.

² *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis MDCXIX*, p. 745.
‘Alexander Barcleius . . . patria, ut probabile est, Devonienensis.’

³ Jamieson, p. xxx, *Ship of Fools*. 2 Vols, 1874.

⁴ P. 261. Note 2.

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was for all essential purposes an English literary figure, and must have crossed the border early. Frequent allusions to Croydon in his 'Eclogues' would seem to promise an early acquaintance with the place—indeed, it might be inferred that the poet had resided there as a boy:

'While I in youth in Croydon towne did dwell,'

if it were not dangerous to infer anything from the tantalising medley of personal and impersonal remarks in his pastoral poems. A glance at the next line:

'Often to the court I coles brought to sell'

forbids any too easy assumption. However, the place-name appears very often, and Barclay was buried at Croydon,¹ so some sort of connection with the town appears obvious.

There is no record of Barclay's attendance at either of the English Universities, but Wood assigns him to Oxford, particularly to Oriel, of which Thomas Cornish, later a patron of the poet's, was Provost (1493-1507). From an allusion to Cambridge in the *Eclogues*, Warton assumes that Barclay studied there:

'Once in *Cambridge* I heard a scoller say.'

It was quite customary for Scottish students to attend English Universities and Barclay may have studied at Oxford or at Cambridge, but in the absence of any definite and trustworthy information it is impossible to do more than conjecture. He certainly obtained a degree, for the title-page of his translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War* alludes to him as 'Syr Alexander Barclay, preest.' From the various references to foreign universities in his works, it might be assumed that Barclay, like Colet and many another Tudor scholar, travelled and attended

¹ Lyson's *Environs of London*. Notice of Parish Register at Croydon. 'June 10th 1552 Alexander Barkley sepult.' Vol. I, p. 193.

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some of the well-known continental seats of learning. It is more than probable that he spent some time in Paris. A chapter in the *Ship of Fools*¹ is devoted to the discussion of 'Unprofitable Study,' and in his *Addicio* to this, Barclay confesses that his student days had been full of folly.

st. 431:

'The great foly / the pryde / and the enormyte
Of our studentis / and theyr obstynate errour
Causeth me to wryte two sentences or thre
More than I fynde wrytyn in myne actoure
The tyme hath ben whan I was conductoure
Of moche foly / which nowe my mynde doth greve
Wherfor of this shyp syns I am governoure.
I dare be bold myne owne vyce to reprove.'

It is difficult to imagine the sober, heavily moral Barclay of the later poems indulging in any wanton fun! But the lines are indubitable proof of his having been a student. In the same chapter of the *Ship* Barclay abandons himself pretty vigorously to the pleasure of satirising the folly of Logicians. The following stanza is original, and is thought by Pompen to have a direct reference to the two schools of Scholastic Philosophy in Paris, the Scotists and the Nominalists, whose protagonists were respectively Pierre Tateret or Tarteret and Thomas Bricot.

st. 424:

'There is nought else but Est and non est
Blaberynge and chydyng / as it were beawlys wyfe
They argue nought els but to prove man a beest
Homo est Asinus is cause of moche stryf
Thus passe forth these folys the dayes of theyr lyfe
In two syllabis / not gyvyng advertence
To other cunnyng / doctryne / nor scyence.'

¹ Pynson, fol. lx; Cawood, fol. 52; Jamieson, p. 142.

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This is possibly a reaction from the elaborate technicalities Barclay had been forced to endure in the lecture-room of Tarteret or Bricot.

Very probably, also, Barclay was acquainted with Robert Gaguin, the great French humanist, or at least, with the humanist circle in Paris. For in Barclay's version of Brant's *Narrenschiff* occurs a chapter on 'Worldly Fools,' which has no parallel in Locher nor in Brant, and which consequently does not appear in the versions of Rivière, Drouyn or Watson. In the margin of his edition the English poet annotates:

'Scribitur in fatuum nimis mundo
confidentem: et est carmen dni Roberti Gaguini.'

This Latin poem of Gaguin's, *De fatuis mundanis*, was printed anonymously, as Pompen observes,² at the end of the French edition of Locher's translation of the *Narrenschiff*.

The striking thing is, not that Barclay incorporated the poem into his work, for Badius did the same, but that he should know its authorship.³ Here, if anywhere, is a proof that Barclay had indeed been to Paris and was intimate with the humanists to whom no work of Gaguin's, however fugitive, would be unknown.

Bale attributes to Barclay, on the authority of John Alen, the *Castle of Labour*, a translation of Pierre Gringoire's *Chateau de Labour*, 1499. In spite of Professor A. W. Pollard's statement to the contrary, there is a good deal of reason to doubt this attribution of the work to Barclay; but if it is his, it must have been undertaken at the instigation of Antoine Vérard, the eminent Paris

¹ Entitled 'Of folys that ar over worldly.' Pynson, fol. cclxv; Cawood, fol. 252; Jamieson, Vol. II, p. 317.

² *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 103. Paris, Geoffroy de Marnef, 8th March, 1498; Lyons, Jacques Sacon, 28th June, 1498.

³ There is a probability that Barclay may have 'oversene' Badius's work, *La Nef des Folles*, 1498, 1500, and the *Navis Stultifera*, 1505.

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printer, while the poet was a student of the University, c. 1500-1503.

The first trustworthy notice of biographical importance dates from 1509, when Richard Pynson published Barclay's translation of Brant's *Narrenschiff* with the title *The Ship of Fools*. Barclay wrote his translation at Ottery in Devonshire:

'This present Boke named the Shyp of folys of the worlde was translated in the College of saynt mary Otery in the counte of Devonshyre: out of Laten/Frenche/and Doche into Englysshe tonge by Alexander Barclay *Preste*: and at that tyme *Chaplen* in the sayd College. translated the yere of our Lorde God M.CCCCCviii. Inprentyd in the Cyte of London in Fletestre at the signe of Saynt George. By Rycharde Pynson to hys Coste and charge: Ended the yere of our Saviour M.d.ix. The. xiiii. day of December.'

On his return from the Continent Barclay must have entered Holy Orders. He dedicated his work to Thomas Cornish, suffragan bishop of Bath and Wells and titular bishop of Tyne, who had, it seems, ordained him (*quia sacros ad ordines per te sublimatus et promotus*), and bestowed benefits on him (*'multisque aliis tuis beneficiis ditatus.'*) Cornish was warden of the college of Saint Mary, Ottery, from December 1st, 1459-June, 1511, and Barclay addresses his ecclesiastical superior in a humble strain:

'Venerandissimo in Christo Patri ac domino: domino Thomæ Cornisshe Tenensis pontifici, ac diocesis Badonensis Suffraganio vigilantissimo, suæ paternitatis, *capellanus* humilimus Alexander Barclay, sui ipsius recommendationem cum omni submissione et reverentia.'

The College at Ottery was founded by John Grandisson, bishop of Exeter, in 1337, 'to the honour of

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Christ Jesus, the blessed Virgin Mary, St. Edward King and Confessor and all Saints.' In his foundation letter¹ Grandisson describes minutely the personnel of the College. It is to consist of four principal officers, a Warden, a Minister, a Precentor and a Sacristan; four simple canons; eight choral vicars in priest's orders; one 'presbyter parochialis'; one 'presbyter matutinalis'; and 'unus qui capellanus beate Marie nuncupetur'; together with two clerks called 'aquebajuli,' eight other clerks called 'secondaries,' eight choir boys and a 'magister scholarum.'

Pompen² has remarked that since Barclay refers to himself as 'capellanus' and 'chaplen,' he must have held the office of 'capellanus beate Marie' at Saint Mary Ottery. This assumption is justified by allusions of a personal nature in the *Ship of Fools*. The most amusing as well as the most interesting of these is preluded by a Latin title:

'Alexander Barklay ad fatuos ut dent locum octo secundariis beate marie de Oterey qui quidem prima huius ratis transtra merentur.'

The chapter embodying³ the stanza is entitled:

'Of suche as nedys wyll continue in theyr foly nat withstandynge holsom erudicion,'

and attention is drawn to the satire in the Register where mention is made of:

'An addicion of the secundaries of Otery saynt Mary/in Devynshyre.'

st. 531.

'Soft folys soft/a lytell slacke your pace
Till I have space you to order by degre

¹ G. Oliver. *Monasticon Diæcesis Exoniensis*, p. 265. 'Ordinatio fundatoris ecclesiæ collegiatæ, S. Mariæ de Otery per Pontificem Romanum ratificata.'

² *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 284.

³ Pynson, fol. lxxij; Cawood, fol. 66; Jamieson, p. 175.

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I have eyght neyghbours / that firste shall have a
place

Within this my shyp / for they most worthy be
They may theyr lernynge receyve costeles and fre.
Theyr wallys abuttinge and ioynynge to the
scoles.

No thyng they can / yet nought wyll they lerne
nor se

Therfore shall they gyde this one shyp of foles.'

A good deal of exasperation finds expression here, and it is easy to understand the source of it when one has discovered what Barclay's duties consisted of in his capacity as 'capellanus,' and when one has located the 'secondaries' successfully. Grandisson among his definitions gives the careful instruction¹:

'Volumus preterea quod pueri choriste dicte ecclesie ad loca secundariorum, cum ad virilem vocem pervenerint, necnon secundarii, ad gradum vicariorum pre aliis extraneis ceteris paribus admittantur.'

This is further amplified in the 'Statuta collegii Sancte Marie de Otery'²:

'Item statuimus quod nullus ad gradum secundarii ibidem citra 19^m annum admittatur, sed semper provideatur quod competentis sit stature et, voce puerili permutata, sonoritatem in voce virili, et scienciam legendi et cantandi habeat competentem.'

Choir boys could become 'secondaries' if their voices had broken and if they could intone!

The relations between the 'capellanus' and the 'octo clerici qui secundarii dicantur' are made clear in the foundation letter and the Statutes. Barclay had to

¹ G. Oliver. *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 265.

² G. Oliver. *Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis*, p. 268. 'Statuta collegii Sancte Marie de Otery.'

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combine the duties of librarian and instructor to the choirboys.

‘Prefatus vero capellanus beate Marie habeat curam et custodiam librorum et ornamentorum ejusdem capelle ex comissione et tradicionem sacriste predicti, et ad missam ejusdem Virginis pulset per se vel alium, puerosque choristas tam in cantibus quam instrumentis organicis doceat et informet.’¹

He had to supervise the ‘secondaries’:

‘Item statuimus quod cantor et capallanus beate Marie per se vel alios teneantur semper pueros choristas et clericos de secunda forma ad hoc habiles in cantu organico et organicis instrumentis informare; et videant quod tam clerici secundarii quam pueri frequentent missam beate Marie, vel gravissime puniantur.’²

He was responsible for their punctuality:

‘Item injungimus in virtute obediencie tam cantori quam sacriste ac eciam capellano beate Marie quod videant qui secundarii tarde venerint ad missam beate Marie vel male ibi se gerunt, et eos faciant puniri per custodem et senescallos sicut malos et ingratos beate Marie servos, si ejusdem Virginis adjutorium in hora mortis desiderant optinere.’

It must have been after a particularly strenuous time with the ‘secondaries’ and probably with painful memories of their ‘moche foly’ as choir boys, that Barclay wrote his vigorous indictment of them and sent them off for ever to Narrogonia.

For his duties as ‘capellanus’³ Barclay received an allowance of eightpence per week besides a yearly

¹ P. 266. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

² P. 269. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

³ P. 260. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*. G. Oliver.

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stipend of twelve shillings; but exacting as they were, they evidently left him plenty of leisure to devote to his literary labours. So Herculean a task as the translation of the *Narrenschiff* could not be accomplished in a day, and Barclay must have spent many pleasant, studious hours composing the work by which his name will always be remembered, in the library of the College at Ottery, which is known to have possessed a large number of valuable books.¹

One or two references made in the *Ship of Fools* to actual persons, shed some light on this period of Barclay's life. First of all there was his 'welbeloved frende syr John Bysshop² of Exeter,' of whom Barclay wrote: st. 1788:

'Wysdome shall men avaunce unto honour
So Barclay wyssheth and styll shall tyll he dye
Parfytely pray to god our creatour
That vertuous men and wyse may have degre
(As they ar worthy) of lawde and dygnyte
But namely to his frende bysshop by name
Before all other desyreth he the same.'

st. 1789:

'Whiche was the first oversear of this warke
And unto his frende gave his advysement
It nat to suffer to slepe styll in the darke
But to be publysshyd abrode and put to prent
To thy monycion my bysshop I assent
Besechynge god that I that day may se
That thy honour may prospere and augment
So that thy name and offyce may agre.'

The marginal note is not very helpful:

'Familiarem suum Johannem bisshop de eo benemeritum commendat.'

¹ G. Oliver. *Monasticon Dioecesis Exoniensis*, p. 261 (note).

² Chapter entitled 'The description of a wyse man,' Pynson, fol. ccxlvii; Cawood, fol. 234; Jamieson, p. 272. Vol. II.

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Bishop cannot have been a well-known person as he has completely eluded the vigilance of the historians. Perhaps, as Pompen suggests,¹ and as his title of 'sir' indicates, he was a priest of the neighbourhood. In any case, whoever he was, he had shown marked kindness to Barclay, had read through his translation and had advised him to have it printed. So we owe the *Ship* to his persuasory powers!

In his chapter entitled 'Of the Extorcion of Knyghtis,'² Barclay writes four original stanzas praising his 'mayster Kyrkham' and damning one 'Mansell of Otery':

st. 1158:

'Good offycers ar good and commendable
And manly knyghtes that lyve in rightwysenes;
But they that do nat ar worthy of a bable
Syns by theyr pryde pore people they oppres
My mayster kyrkham for his perfyte mekenes
And supportacion of men in povertye
Out of my shyp shall worthely be fre.'

st. 1159:

'I flater nat I am his true servytour
His chaplayne and bede man whyle my lyfe shall
endure
Requyrynge god to exalt hym to honour
And of his Prynces favour to be sure
For as I have sayd I knowe no creature
More manly rightwyse wyse discrete and sad
But thoughe he be good/yet other ar als bad.'

st. 1160:

'They shall unnamyd my shyppis have in cure
And other offycers who so ever they be
Whiche in extorcion and falshode them inure

¹ *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 85.

² Pynson, fol. clxi; Cawood, fol. 152; Jamieson, p. 80. (Vol. II.)

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Hopynge by the same to come to dignyte
And by extorcion to augment theyr degre
Mansell of Otery for powlynge of the pore
Were nat his great wombe/here sholde have an ore.'

st. 1161:

'But for his body is so great and corporate
And so many burdens his brode back doth charge
If his great burthen cause hym to come to late
Yet shall the knave be Captayne of a barge
Where as ar bawdes/and so sayle out at large
About our shyp to spye about for prayes
For therupon hath he lyved all his dayes.'

Kirkham is a historical name, and in his *Worthies of Devon* John Prince¹ says that a Sir John Kirkham, whose arms were 'Argent 3 Lions rampant Gules, within a Bordure ingrained Sable,' was High-Sheriff of Devon, 1523, and a great benefactor to Honiton. He is not to be confused with the Sir John Kirkham, who, according to Izacke,² was High-Sheriff in 1507, and whose Arms were different—'Or on a bend Gules 3 Mulletts Argent.' Barclay must have received more than a little kindness from Kirkham, but it is difficult to infer from his fervent commendation the exact nature of the benefits his 'mayster' bestowed on him. From the phrase 'true servytour, chaplayne and bede man' it is just possible to assume that Barclay may have been appointed private chaplain to the knight; but then the following words, 'whyle my lyfe shall endure' are a difficulty, besides the fact that at this time his chief business was that of 'Chaplen in the College of saynt Mary Otery.' The freedom of figurative speech must always be allowed to a poet, however, and perhaps

¹ Published 1701, p. 434.

² Richard Izacke, *Antiquities of the City of Exeter*, 1667. Appendix. 'A perfect Catalogue of all the Sheriffs of the County of Devon, with their several coats of armory described.'

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Barclay's praise was anticipatory rather than retrospective!

That objectionable person, Mansell of Otery, whose hobby was 'powlynge of the pore,' remains a mystery. His identity is difficult, indeed impossible, to establish, for no facts, as Pompen regrets,¹ have been recorded in the Devonshire Histories which could have reference to such a man. Perhaps he was a tax-collector of the Empson and Dudley type; and perhaps Mansell was not his real name. One thing is certain, that Barclay's verses were aimed at a living target—that the object of his satire really existed.

Barclay was not free from worldly care in his quiet retreat at Ottery. He has occasion to indulge his sarcasm in stanza 44 of the *Ship*, where he pillories another *bête-noire*, the 'Person of Honyngton.'² He is reproaching the clergy for their slackness:

st. 44:

'But if I durst trouth playnely utter and expresse,
This is the special cause of this Inconvenience.
That gretest foles/and fullest of lewdnes
Havyng least wyt: and symplest Science
Ar fyrst promoted: and have greatest reverence.
For if one can flater/and bere a hawke on his Fyst,
He shalbe made Person of Honyngton or of Clyst.'

st. 45:

'But he that is in Stody ay ferme and diligent.
And without al favour prechyth Chrystys lore
Of al the Comontye nowe adayes is sore shent.
And by Estates thretened to Pryson oft therfore.
Thus what avayle is it/to us to Stody more:
To knowe outhr scripture/trouth/wysedom/or
vertue
Syns fewe/or none without favour dare them shewe.'

¹ *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 170.

² The chapter entitled, 'Inprofytable bokes.' Pynson, fol. xiii; Cawood, fol. 1; Jamieson, p. 19.

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Poor Barclay! The 'Person of Honyngton' was anathema to him, no doubt. The rectors of Honiton from 1500-1527 were John Yeate,¹ who died in 1505, and Henry Ferman, or Feyrman, who seems to have held the living from 17th May, 1505, to 16th April, 1527.² It is probably, Pompen notes,³ to Ferman that Barclay refers here. The patron of the living was Sir William Courtenay, Knight, and possibly the translator of the *Narrenschiff* and Ferman had been rivals for his favour. That the latter had won the day, and the rectory, by the employment of a little judicious flattery and an efficient knowledge of hawking seems to have rankled in Barclay's mind.⁴

The Parson of Clyst cannot be summoned from the shades, for Clyst is such a ubiquitous name in Devonshire, Clyst-Hidon, Clyst St. George, Clyst St. Mary, Clist St. Lawrence, Clist St. Gabriel, and Clist St. Michael all being benefices in the neighbourhood of

¹ G. Oliver. *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Devon*. Vol. II, p. 77.

² Feyrman's will is dated 7th November, 1526.

³ *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 207.

⁴ Henry Feyrman's will which exists at Somerset House (152 b, 17 Porch) reveals him as a generous man. He calls himself 'chaunter of saint Mary Ottrye' and requests that his body be buried 'within the newe porche of Ottrye.' To the 'newe werke of the parishe church there' he bequeaths 20 shillings, and 'to the Colege there of Ottrye for to have a perpetuall masse kept and saide at the awter there of saint Antony for me and maister Dodman, to be ordred by my executors and the maisters of the said college, 50 marks.' He leaves money for the glazing of three windows 'of the newe ambulatory within the parishe church of Honyngton,' and treats his servants generously, leaving to two a year's wages and their livery and 'to every of them a horse.' Feyrman was probably an Ottery man and well known to Ottery people. The mention of 'Maister Doctor Bromstone mynister of Ottoyye,' 'Maister Olyver Smyth, Wardeyn there,' and 'Sir John Fychett, Sexton there,' confirms his connection with the place.

Walter Dudman was appointed Warden of the College, October 16th 1518. He was succeeded by Oliver Smith, June 26th, 1525, who with Roger Bramston, minister, subscribed to the King's supremacy, July 12th, 1534.

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Ottery, that it is difficult to decide which is meant. Perhaps it is just as well that he remains anonymous—*requiescat in pace!*

Barclay is supposed to have left Ottery when Cornish retired from the Wardenship of the College, June, 1511. It is possible that he ceased to reside there before this date, as the 'Shyp' speaks of his being 'at that tyme (1508) Chaplen in the sayd College,' as if he had resigned his position at Ottery when the Dedication was written, December, 1509.

The rest of Barclay's literary ventures were, in all probability, undertaken at Ely, and the inference is, that after seeing his *Ship of Fools* through the press, he became a Benedictine monk and joined the monastery at Ely. His fame as a translator and man of letters seems to have spread, for he had such excellent patrons as Thomas, duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden, Sir Giles Alyngton, and Richard, earl of Kent.

The first fruits of his leisure at Ely seem to have been the 'Eclogues' or 'Egloges,' which first introduced the pastoral convention to English literature. These poems,¹ the first three a translation of the '*Miseriæ Curialium*' of Æneas Sylvius, otherwise Pope Pius II, and last two a free rendering of Mantuan, are rich in allusions to Ely celebrities and well-known people of the day. Alcock, Morton, Colet, and Sir Edward Howard share the poet's praise.

Morton was Bishop of Ely, 1479-1486, and was the first to attempt to drain the fens. He was succeeded by John Alcock (1486-1500), a great benefactor to Ely, where he built much of the Episcopal Palace and a handsome mortuary Chapel in the Cathedral for his tomb. That Barclay was personally acquainted with these two men is not likely; but he revered their memory as the following passage from Eclogue I testifies—

¹ First published in collected form by Cawood in 1570 and appended to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*.

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referring to Morton in the first few lines and then to his successor, Alcock:

‘O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake,
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,
Would God that we could get him to live agayne.
What time he lived some did him blame iwis,
Which since he died do him sore lacke and mis.

None other shepherd might with that man compare,
In during his life we neded not to care,
But ever sith time that he was dead and gone
We suffer wrongs, defender have we none,
He was the patron of thinges pastorall,
His face and favour forget I never shall.

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen,
I knowe his voyce among a thousande men,
He taught, he preached, he mended every wrong,
But Coridon alas no good thing bideth long.
He all was a cocke, he wakened us from slepe,
And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe.
No cur, no foxes, nor butchers dogges wood
Coulde hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good,
The hungry wolves which that time did abounde
What time he crowed abashed at the sounde.
This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe
Then is a lion abashed of an oxe.

This was a father of thinges pastorall,
And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall.
There was I lately about the middest of May,
Coridon his Church is twenty sith more gay
Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent,
There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.

¹ Spenser Sociey reprint, p. 5. Cawood sign. A.iiij.

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If the people were as pleasaunt as the place
Then were it paradise of pleasour and solace,
Then might I truely right well finde in my heart
There still to abide and never to departe.
But since that this cocke by death hath left his song
Trust me Coridon there many a thing is wrong,
When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,
Like death for weping I might no longer bide.'

The reference to the unpleasantness of the inhabitants of Ely is typical of Barclay, and reminiscent of the caustic humour which occurs sporadically in the *Ship of Fools*. There is a possibility that the 'foxe' and the 'butchers dogges wood' may veil covert allusions to Richard Foxe, bishop of Winchester and Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and his son, and to Wolsey. There does not seem much point in introducing such allusions here; but the allegory must not be pressed. It is more important to notice that, after the death of Alcock, life at Ely monastery was harder for the monks. In Eclogue III there is a long lament for Alcock and a similar complaint of the unsatisfactory conditions that prevailed after his decease:

'Nowe I remember the shepheard of the fen,
And what care for him demeaned all his men.
And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,
Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere.

My harte sore mourneth when I must specify
Of the gentle Cocke which sange so mirily,
He and his flocke were like an union,
Conjoynd in one without discention,
All the fayre Cockes which in his dayes crewe
When death him touched did his departing rewe,

¹ Spenser Society reprint, p. 26. Cawood sign. Ci verso.

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The pretie palace by him made in the fen,
The maides, widowes, the wives and the men,
With deadly dolour were pearsed to the heart
When death constrayned this shepheard to departe.

The mighty walles of Ely monastery,
The stones, rockes, and towres semblably,
The marble pillers and images echeone,
Swet all for sorowe when this good cocke was gone.

And shortly after this Cocke was dead and gone,
The shepheard Roger could not bide long alone,
But shortly after false death stole him away,
His worthy report still liveth till this day.

His death was mourned from Ely forty mile.
These worthy heardes and many other mo
Were with their wethers in love conjoynd so,
That more they cured by witte and pacience,
Then dreadful drome can do with violence.'

The 'shepheard Roger' to whom Barclay makes such loving reference was Roger Westminster, sacrist of the Cathedral, who was elected Prior on 28th July, 1478. According to Bentham,¹ 'he continued to administer the Sacrist's office five or six years after he became Prior; having, it seems, begun some great repairs about the Western Tower of the Church, before his election.

In 1495, October 12th, he appointed Mr. William Doughty, the Bishop's Official, and Robert Colvyle Cellerer, and William Wittlesey, Monks of his Convent, to appear for him in Convocation, October 19th, and to excuse his absence on account of Sickness: the same excuse he likewise sent, January 15, in 1496-7. He

¹ J. Bentham. *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely*. p. 223.

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was Prior above twenty years; for I find that he, with the Convent, presented a Clerk to the Vicarage of Mel-dreth, November 15th, 1499. He was succeeded by Robert Colville, who was Prior October 30th, 1500.' 'Dreadful drome' is more difficult to trace.

The bishops of Ely¹ during Barclay's residence there were James Stanley (1506-1515) and Nicholas West (1515-1533). Stanley, third son of the first earl of Derby, a pluralist, a considerable benefactor to the collegiate church of Manchester and to Jesus College, Cambridge, and a man of indifferent moral character, was very seldom at Ely. It may be to him or to his deputy that Barclay refers—hardly to West, who, though he lived in great magnificence, relieved the poor with much bounty. Nor is it feasible that the poet intends to stigmatize Goodrich (1533-54), an ardent reformer of his see, for, by the advent of the Reformation, Barclay had left Ely.

A reference in the fourth Eclogue to the death of the gallant admiral Sir Edward Howard,² is an indication

¹ Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Vol. I, p. 468.

² Holinshed, in his *Chronicles*, gives the following account of the death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral, and son of the duke of Norfolk:

"The Lord admerall by the counsell of a Spanish Knight called Sir Alfonse Charant, affirming that he might enter the baie with little jeopardie called to him William fitz Williams, William Cooke, John Colleie and Sir Wolstan Browne as his chief and most trustie friends making them privie to his intent; which was to take on him the whole enterprise, with their assistance. And so on S. Markes daie, which is the five and twentieth of Aprill, the said admerall put himselfe in a small row barge, appointing three other small rowing ships, and his owne ship bote to attend him; and therewith upon a sudden rowed into the baie, where Prior Johan (Pregian, the French Admiral) had moored up his gallies just to the ground: Which gallies with the bulworkes on the land, shot so terrible that they that followed were afraid. But the admerall passed forward and as soon as he came to the gallies, he entered and drove out the Frenchmen. William Fitz Williams within his ship was sore hurt with a quarell. The baie was shallow, and the other ships could not enter, for the

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of the probable date at which the poems were written. Barclay profited by the melancholy occasion to write a long elegy on the son of his patron, Norfolk, which he called 'The Towre of vertue and honour.' Howard was killed off Brest, in the expedition against the French, 1513.

..... 'but it is lamentable
To heare a Captayne so good and honorable,
So soone withdrawn by deathes crueltie,
Before his vertue was at moste hye degree.
If death for a season had shewed him favour,
To all his nation he should have bene honour,
Alas, bolde heartes be nerest death in warre,
When out of daunger cowardes stande afarre.'

Other illustrious combatants in the 1513 campaign come in for a mention—Sir Gilbert Talbot, deputy of Calais:

'Here is the Talbot manfull and hardy,'

and Sir Robert Curson:

'The manly Corson within this towre I see.'

Possibly Barclay had heard Colet preach at St. Paul's, when he was in London seeing his *Ship of Fools* through the press; for he makes a gracious reference to him in the fourth Eclogue:

'I aske no palace, nor lodging curious,
No bed of state, of rayment sumptuous.
For this I learned of the Dean of Powles,
I tell thee Codrus, this man hath won some soules.'

tide was spent. Which thing the Frenchmen perceiving, they entered the gallies againe with moris pikes, and fought with the English in the gallies. The admerall perceiving their approch, thought to have entred againe into his row barge, which by violence of the tide was driven downe the streame, and with a pike he was throwne over the boord, and so drowned.'

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Colet was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505, and his friend Erasmus writes of him:¹

'What was a novelty there, he began preaching at every festival in his cathedral, over and above the special sermons he had to deliver, now at court, now in various other places.'

His sermons soon became a power in London, and 'he used to have a crowded congregation, including most of the leading men both of the city and the court.'

A casual remark, however, is not sufficient evidence to connect Barclay intimately with the English Humanists, though his patron, Sir Giles Alington, left his son in Thomas More's charge, and More was a lifelong friend of Colet.

Barclay's relations with his contemporaries were not always free from asperity. He seems to have disliked Skelton whom Erasmus called 'that incomparable light and ornament of British letters.'

Barclay must have had a genuine horror of bohemianism and a profound incapacity for appreciating exquisite poetic trifles. Skelton was a Poet Laureate, and proud of it, though on the Continent his fellow Laureates could at that time be counted by the dozen. Several bitter allusions to Laureates which occur in the *Eclogues* have always been held to refer to Skelton, and recall the earlier taunts of the *Ship*:

'Another thing yet is greatly more damnable,
Of rascolde poetes yet is a shamfull rable,
Which voyde of wisdomes presumeth to indite,
Though they have scantly the cunning of a snite:
And to what vices that princes moste intende,
Those dare these fooles solemnize and commende.
Then is he decked as Poete laureate,
When stinking Thais made him her graduate.

¹ J. H. Lupton. *Life of John Colet*, p. 137.

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Such rascolde drames promoted by Thais,
Bacchus, Licoris, or yet by Testalis,
Or by suche other newe forged Muses nine
Thinke in their mindes for to have wit divine.
They laude their verses, they boast, they vaunt and jet,
Though all their cunning be scantly worth a pet.'

This certainly seems intended for the rector of Diss. What the relations were between the two it is difficult to surmise, but the trouble, whatever it was, must have begun early, for already in the *Ship* Barclay is pre-occupied with the folly of Laureates and the frivolity of 'Phyllyp Sparowe.' Among boasters Barclay mentions:

'Some other crowned as Poetis Lawreate,'

and elsewhere² asks:

'Wherear the Phylosophers and Poetis Lawreat?'

But the most direct reference to Skelton occurs in stanza 1962³:

'Holde me excusyd: for why my wyll is gode
Men to induce unto vertue and goodnes
I wryte no Jest ne tale of Robyn hode
Nor sowe no sparcles ne sede of vyciousnes.
Wyse men love vertue/ wylde people wantonnes
It longeth nat to my scyence nor cunnyng
For Phylp the Sparowe the (Dirige) to synge.'

The last line is an undoubted hit at his poetic rival, although, as Pompen observes,⁴ the first part of the stanza may have a more general significance, 'to tell a tale of Robin Hood,' being an accepted 'expression for gossiping or telling worthless stories.'

¹ Chapter entitled 'Of the prowde and vayne bostynge of folys.' Pynson, fol. clv; Cawood, fol. 146; Jamieson, p. 64 (Vol. II) st. 1111.

² Chapter entitled 'Of the end of worldly honour and power.' Pynson, fol. cxi; Cawood, fol. 104; Jamieson, p. 265, st. 808.

³ Chapter entitled 'Of folys that ar over worldly.' Pynson, fol. cclxv; Cawood, fol. 252; Jamieson, Vol. II, p. 317.

⁴ *English versions of the Ship of Fools*, p. 273.

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Bale, on the authority of Nicholas Brigan, a distinguished antiquary, credits Barclay with a book entitled *Contra Skeltonum*. This, unfortunately, does not seem to have survived the depredations of time, and with it have vanished the reasons for the extraordinary antipathy Barclay manifested towards his contemporary. Skelton, apparently, did not consider Barclay's jibes worthy of a retort; but there are some lines in the *Garlande of Laurell*¹ which might be construed as a retaliation:

'Of Phillip Sparow the lamentable fate,
The dolefull desteny, and the carefull chaunce,
Dyvysed by Skelton after the funerall rate;
Yet sum there be therewith that take grevaunce,
And grudge thereat with frownyng countenance;
But what of that? hard it is to please all men;
Who list amende it, let hym set to his penne;
For the gyse now adays
Of sum jangelyng jays
Is to discommende
That they can not amende,
Though they wolde spende
All the wittis they have.
What ayle them, to deprave
Phillippe Sparows grave?
His Dirige, her Commendacioun
Can be no derogacyoun,
But myrth and consolacyoun,
Made by protestacyoun,
No man to myscontent
With Phillippis enteremente.

.

Then such that have disdaynyd
And of this worke complaynyd,

¹ *Poems of John Skelton*, edited by Richard Hughes, p. 163. (Heinemann, 1924.)

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I pray God they be paynyd
No wors than is contaynyd
In verses two or thre
That folowe as ye may se:
Luride, cur, livor, volucris pia funera damnas?
Talis te rapiant rapiunt quæ fata volucrem!
Est tamen invidia mors tibi continua.'

And so the episode closes.

Skelton's debts to the *Ship* cannot be discussed here. The *Boke of Three Fooles*,¹ once attributed

¹ The true source of the *Boke of Three Fooles* was first revealed by Brie in his *Studien*, p. 18. It is amazing how such a halting, pedestrian production ever came to be associated with Skelton's name. Dyce took it, so he says, from Marshe's edition of Skelton's Works, 1568, and adds in a note: 'This piece is a paraphrase of three portions of Brant's *Ship of Fools*; see the Latin version by Locher, *Stultifera Navis* edition, 1497—"Uxorem ducere propter opes; De livore et invidia; and De Voluptate corporali."' The inclusion in the canon of Skelton's Works of 'The *Boke of Three Fooles*, M. Skelton, Poete Laureate, gave to my Lord Cardynall' deceived a good many scholars amongst others Professor Herford, who in his, 'Literary Relations Between England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century' talks of Skelton following the example set by Geiler von Kaiserberg at Strasburg. There is not the slightest reason to doubt Brie's statement. The two versions, the pseudo-Skelton and the Watson, except for a few minor divergences, are identical, as the following short comparison will indicate:

Pseudo-Skelton.

The Fyrst Fole.

The man that doth wed a wyfe
For her goodes and her rychesse,
And not for lygnage femynatife,
Procureth doloure and dystresse,
With infynyte payne and hevynesse;
For she wyll do hym moche sorowe,
Bothe at evyn and at morowe.

Watson (2nd ed. 1517).

'Of hym that weddeth a wyfe for to have her rychesses.' Chapter xlix.

The man the whiche dothe wedde a wyfe
For her treasour and her rychesse

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to him, and said to have been a paraphrase of three chapters from Barclay's translation, has been proved to be an extract from the prose translation of Henry Watson, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1509.

Unhappily, Barclay's dislike of Skelton has been insisted on to the detracting of his pleasanter relations with other men.

Very few allusions are made to Barclay by contemporary writers. Henry Bradshaw,¹ a Benedictine monk of the monastery of St. Werburge, Chester, who died in 1513, mentions Barclay in the epilogue to his *Life of St. Werburge of Chester, Englisht* 1513, and printed by Pynson in 1521:

'To all auncient poetes, litell boke, submytte the,
Whilom flouryng in eloquence facundious
And to all other whiche present nowe be,
Fyrst to maister Chaucer and Ludgate sentencious.
Also to preignaunt Barkley nowe beyng religious,
To inventive Skelton and poet laureate;
Praye them all of pardon both erly and late.'

And not for lygnage femynatyfe
Procureth dolour and dystresse
With infynyte payne and hevynesse
For she wyll do hym moche sorowe
Both at even and at morowe.

¹ Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* says, 'He was born in the auncient town of Westchester, commonly called the city of Chester; and being much addicted to religion and learning, when a youth, was received among the Benedictine monks of St. Werburge's monastery in the said city. Thence, at riper years, he was sent to Gloucester College in the suburb of Oxon, where after he had passed his course in theology among the novices of his order, he returned to his cell at St. Werburge, and in his elder years wrote, *De antiquitate et magnificentia urbis Chæstriæ chronicon* etc and translated from Latin into English a book which he thus entitled *The Lyfe of the glorious Virgin St. Werburge: Also many miracles that God showed for her*, London 1521, quarto. He died in 1513 and was buried in his monastery, leaving then behind him other matters to posterity; but the subject of which they treat I know not.' Of the *De Antiquitate* and the 'other matters' nothing is now known.

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It is ironic that Bradshaw, admiring both, should couple Barclay with the detested Skelton!

But the most interesting and delightful references to Barclay are those made by William Forrest,¹ catholic priest and poet, in his *History of Joseph the Chaiste* and *The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, for they open up a whole vista of what must have been a pleasant friendship, and reveal some important facts concerning Barclay's career. The *History of Joseph* was dedicated to Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk of the Howard house, and in the Dedication Barclay's name appears:

'Unto whiche ende, O worthye famous Duke!
A certayne wryter, Alexander Barkeley,
In eloquent style, all voyde of rebuke,
The booke of Mancyne in verse did conveye,
Of Englysche meater holdynge the weye,
Unto the fower vertues cardynall,
To light mannys lyef, a lanterne specyall.

¹ Forrest was probably a relative of John Forest, the Franciscan friar. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and was present in 1530 when the question of the king's divorce was discussed at Oxford. He may have attended the funeral of Catherine of Aragon at Peterborough 1536. An eye-witness of the erection of Wolsey's College on the site of the priory of St. Frideswide, he was afterwards employed there in some capacity or other. In 1548 he dedicated his version of the treatise 'De Regimine Principum' to the Duke of Somerset and in 1551 his paraphrase of some of the psalms. These dedications provoke Warton's comment, that Forrest 'could accommodate his faith to the reigning powers.'

In 1553 he came forward with a poetical tribute on the accession of Mary, and later was made one of the Queen's chaplains. He was probably, in 1556, presented to the vicarage of Bledlow, Buckinghamshire, but the presentation is uncertain.

In 1558 Forrest presented to Mary his poem of the *Second Gresyld*. Very little is known of his life after the death of Mary. He may have been protected by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, to whom he dedicated his *History of Joseph*. He seems to have remained in the same faith to the last, for his name and the two dates—27th October, 1572 and 1581—are affixed to a volume containing amongst other poems one in honour of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception. D.N.B.

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And to your noble Graundsyer Thomas,
Duke, as yee are, of lyke tytles and style,
He dyd yt commende, with the ornat peface,
Yn sorte the beste hee coulde caste or compyle,
With the other warkes mo, to pastyme somewhyle,
Whiche noble Booke, as mentyon doethe leave,
Moste noblye, (with the thankes) he can them receave.

Takyng egressyon in his noble name,
Receaved they weare in acceptation
For their worthynes and noble fame
In profytinge oure Englysche nation,
Sought and upp bought, in busye fashyon;
But now, not so, no inquiryaunce for suche,
For idle playes are occupied to muche.

I consyderinge the veary truthe so,
And have longe traveyled in lyke busynes,
Althoughe my style doethe farre aloof go
From Barkeleys, as the thyng selfe doethe expresse,
(Yeat not all voyde, to vertues encrease)
Was fully mynded in coarners myne to hyed,
As goode as abroade and not occupied;

Callynge unto mynde yeat better advysement,
Your noble father, Earle of Surreye,
Howe (in hys tyme) to bookes he was bent,
And also endytyng manye a vyrylaye
In acceptatyon moste highe at this daye,
Yowe, as of Bloode-condytion so by kynde,
In hoape thearof cleane altered my mynde.'

This passage,¹ in addition to betraying a fervent admiration of Barclay, gives the useful information that

¹ '*History of Joseph the Chaiste* composed in balladde royall crudely; largely derived from the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In two parts.' Dated as having been finished 11th April, 1569, but said by the author to have been written originally twenty-four years before. Appended to the Roxburghe Club edition of Forrest's *History of the Second Grisild*, p. 165.

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the sale of his books had fallen off considerably by 1569.

*The Life of the Blessed Virgin*¹ contains an interesting and amusing story:

'One, on a daye, in companye
Chaunced to saye thus sodaynlye,
"I yeaster daye was in daungere
Of necke breakinge in a mannere;
My mare shee stumbled adowne right
That I fell to the grounde then quight,
But, thanks too God and oure Ladye,
I caught (at all) noe harme therebye."
"Whye," sayde there on then of the Garde,
"The matter dyd yt goe so harde,
That God's helpe there might not assiste
Although oure Ladyes had ben miste?
Ye derogate much God's glorye,
For which yee maye bee right sorye.
In ignorance yee bredd all waye,
Therefore yee wotte not what yee saye;
Some punyshment God sende ere longe,
That yee may knowe what right, what wronge."
An other dyd replie forth waye,
Called Alexander Barkeleye,
Then sittinge there other amonge,
And to the Cowrte dyd eke beelonge,
Who was much fyne and eloquente,
And could translate and eke convente.
In Poetrye, other Scripture,
Emonge us yeat are well in ure
His workes sundrye which I have redde,
And yeat doth live though hee bee dedde,
Which certaynly so well are pende

¹ P. 185 of Roxburghe Club edition of the *History of Grisild. The Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, being a poem in praise of her and in honour of the Immaculate Conception, followed by miscellaneous moral and religious verses, dated from 1572-1581. D.N.B.

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That none this deye can them amende.
Which Alexander Barkleye than
The matter take in hande hee can,
And sayd, "No harme was in so sayinge,
By good reason thus approovinge;—
I doe remember three yeares past
Yee dwelt at Croydon, sure and faste,
With such a man, I knewe you well,
Wherfore I can the better tell.
A longe lubber yee were in deede,
Much slovenly yee ware youre weede,
With coate of lethere, paltocke wyse,
Youre hose lyke so in sloven wisse
Pachte upe unto the myddle legge,
Youre shooes beedobbed with nayle and pegge,
And ofte to London yee carryed coales,
Youre hatte beefrett with sundrye hoales.
Who shoulde have sought fyve myles aboughte
Could not have founde a veryer loute.
But for yee were bygge, longe, and talle,
Thankes bee to God now, first of all,
And to Kinge Henrye specialle,
As the truthe by you doth now trye,
Who of his grace hath you preferde
To bee a Yoman of his Garde,
And doo become youre wearinge well;
But playnely, further forth to tell,
If Kinge Henry, though poure farre odde,
Had not putt to his helpe with God,
It might bee sayde and allso sworne
Yee hadde continued as beforne.
Therfore in naminge oure Ladye
No harme, then naminge Kinge Henrye.
God without theyre assistance can
Doo what Him lyst, who liste to scan,
Yeat, by Saint Pawles authoritye,
Godes helpers in some thinges wee bee.

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The plowe man but hee styrre and sowe
No corne or grayne is like to mowe,
Yeat dare I saye in everye prease,
God onlye geveth the encrease."

The Yoman of the Garde dyd yealde,
As on overcome in the feelde.
Barkeleye was boulde to saye his mynde,
For hee in Courte had manye freynde;
The matter then turned to jeste,
They eate and dranke; all was in reste.'

This anecdote savours of the truth, for the defence of the appeal to the Virgin and the discomfiture of the bold yeoman are very typical of Barclay and illustrate his conservative attitude to the new religion.

The reference to Croydon is interesting in view of the many mentions of the place name in the Eclogues; and still more important is the allusion to Barclay's friends at Court.

It seems very probable that Barclay was keenly interested in music and was connected with well-known musicians of the day. As *Capellanus* at St. Mary Ottery one of his duties had been to supervise the choirboys and the 'secondaries,' a duty which involved a knowledge of church music. Forrest, who, although a younger man, was obviously intimate with Barclay, was well skilled in music and made a collection which still exists,¹ of church music of the day.

In the second Eclogue are several lines which explain who the poet's friends at Court were, and which serve to connect him closely with the foremost musical genius of the period:

'The birde of Cornewall, the Crane and the Kite,
And mo other like to heare is great delite,

¹ 'These MSS. came into the hands of Dr. Heather, founder of the musical praxis and professorship at Oxford, and are preserved in archives belonging to that institution.' D.N.B.

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Warbling their tunes at pleasour and at will,
Though some be busy that therein have no skill.'

The allusion is indubitably to William Cornish, appointed Master of the Chapel Royal, 1509, to William Crane, who succeeded him as Master in 1523, and to John Kyte, chaplain and sub-dean of the Chapel.

Cornish,¹ whose musical and inventive genius displayed itself to the full in the organization of pageants for the entertainment of the Court, was on intimate terms with Henry VIII and was the recipient of personal favours from the King even to his death. He was a friend of Skelton's and set some of his songs to music, including 'Manerly Margery Mylk and Ale,' 'Wofully Araid,' and probably 'Hoyda joly Rutterkyn.' On his resignation of the Mastership, Easter, 1523, he was succeeded by William Crane,² formerly a gentleman of the Chapel, and a merchant of wealth and large business activities. Like Cornish, he was a personal friend of the King, who bestowed many favours on him. Crane died in 1545 after a Mastership of twenty-two years.

Kyte, the sub-dean,³ was appointed Archbishop of Armagh in 1513, and later made Bishop of Carlisle, and may have been acquainted with Barclay in an ecclesiastic as well as a musical capacity.

It would not perhaps be too bold to conjecture that, through the powerful influence of these men, Crane and Kyte, Barclay escaped unhurt through the perils of the Reformation.

That Barclay had travelled extensively in England before the compilation of the Eclogues is not extremely probable, yet, in his pastoral poems he mentions a number of place-names with prosaic exactitude and a certain air of familiarity. Cambridge, Ely, Bristol,

¹ *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

² *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

³ *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare.* C. W. Wallace.

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Croydon, Mortlake, Salisbury, London, and several other towns are named, and from the following passage it might be concluded that Barclay had an intimate knowledge of the English countryside, were it not dangerous to rely for biographical detail on the precarious medium of a pastoral poem:

‘As if divers wayes laye unto Islington,
To Stow on the Wold, Quaveneth or Trompington,
To Dover, Durham, to Barwike or Exeter,
To Grantham, Totnes, Bristow or good Manchester
To Roan, Paris, to Lions or Floraunce.

By God man knowe thou that I have had to do
In all these townes and yet in many mo.’

In spite of his wanderings, real or imaginary, Barclay was at Ely when he translated from the *De Quatuor Virtutibus* of Dominic Mancini (1516) his *Mirroure of Good Maners*, published by Pynson at uncertain date and by Cawood in 1570. The title page gives the information:

‘Here begynneth a ryght frutefull treatyse / intituled the myrrour of good maners / cōteynynge the iiij vertues / called cardynall / compyled in latyn by Domynike Mancyn: And translate into englysshe: at the desyre of syr Gyles Alyngton knyght: by Alexander Bercley prest: and *monke of Ely*.’

The colophon reveals further that Pynson printed the book ‘at the instance and request / of the ryght noble Rychard yerle of Kent.’

Translating the Preface of *Mancine* the poet addresses his ‘singular good Master, syr Giles Alyngton Knight’ as follows:

‘Right honorable Master ye me required late,
A Lovers confession abridging to amende,
And from corrupte Englishe in better to translate,

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To your request would I right gladly condescende,
Were not that some readers my worke would reprehend,

As to my age and order muche inconvenient,
To write of thing wanton, not sad but insolent.'¹

What a loss to English literature, the *Confessio Amantis*, abridged and polished by Barclay! A literary curiosity relegated by a moral scruple for ever to the Limbo of undeveloped ideas! Barclay was not forgetful of the promise made in the concluding stanzas:

'Reade this litle treatise, O juvent of Englande,
As mirrour of good maners, ye chiefly of London,
And when ye, it reading, shall profite understande,
Geve ye laude and thankes to Giles Alyngton
Knight, at whose precept this treatise was begon:
If this do you profite, that shall my mynde excite
Of mo fruitfull matters after this to write.'²

The 'mo fruitfull matters' were not slow in appearing. Between 1519 and 1524 Pynson published Barclay's translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, dedicated in English to Thomas, duke of Norfolk and in Latin to John Voysey or Veysey, bishop of Exeter, 1519-1551. The title page runs:

'Here begynneth the famous cronycle of the warre / which the romayns had agaynst Jugurth usurper of the kyngdome of Numidy: whiche cronycle is compyled in latyn by the renowmed romayn Salust. And translated into englysshe by Syr Alexander Barclay preest / at comaundement of the right hye and mighty prince: Thomas duke of Northfolke.'

In his English dedication Barclay mentions the interesting fact that at 'this tyme' the 'understandyng of

¹ Pynson's edition sign. A iii. Cawood's edition sign. A ii.

² Pynson's edition sign. h. 7. Cawood's edition sign. g. 6.

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latyn' was 'almost contemned of gentylmen.' The Latin dedication is dated from King's Hatfield in Essex.¹

¹ Led by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, Vol. II, p. 247, all Barclay's biographers have gone astray at this point. The actual subscription is: 'Ex cellula Hatfelden regij iij Idus Novembris.' It has always been assumed that the allusion is to Hatfield in Hertfordshire. Jamieson gives Clutterbuck as his authority, and in the *History and Antiquities of the County of Hertford*, Vol. II, p. 334, is a description of Bishop's Hatfield. "The manor of Hatfield was an antient demesne, and continued in the possession of the Saxon Monarchs until it was conferred, by King Edgar, upon the Monastery of St. Ethelred of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, to which it was confirmed by the name of Hethfeld, under a charter of King Edward the Confessor. . . . The Abbots of the Monastery of Ely continued to hold this Manor until that religious foundation was converted into a Bishoprick by King Henry the First, A.D. 1108, when it became part of the possessions of that See. The Manor of Hatfield continued in the possession of the Church of Ely until Thomas Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, by indenture dated 24th November in the 30th year of the reign of King Henry VIII, conveyed to that King, his heirs and successors for ever, the Lordship and Manor of Hatfield."

Later (p. 336) Clutterbuck adds in a note that "The antient palace of the Bishops of Ely was rebuilt and beautified by John Morton, who was promoted to that see A.D. 1478 and died 1486."

It is this connection with Ely that has misled Warton and the other biographers, though Clutterbuck states on p. 334: "It is probable that this place might have been called by its present name of Bishop's Hatfield, from the period at which the Abbey of Ely was erected into a Bishoprick, A.D. 1108, to distinguish it from *Hatfield Regis, or Hatfield Broadoak* in *Essex*." This latter is clearly the place indicated by Barclay's subscription. It seems to have been so-called because it formed part of the demesne lands of the Conqueror. Dugdale notes in his *Monasticon Anglicanum* (Vol. IV, p. 432) that Alberic de Vere, c. 1135, founded a priory for Black Monks at Hatfield Regis. The Priory had possessions in the See of Ely and the connection, slight as it is, tends to confirm the suggestion that Barclay wrote his dedicatory letter to Bishop Veysey from the house of the Essex Benedictines.

The Priors of the establishment from 1489-1534 were:

John Bedwell 1489-1502;
Richard Haver, 1502-1518;
John Asshley, 1518-1528;
Edmund Sudbury; and

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The translation of Sallust bears excellent testimony to Barclay's Latin scholarship; and in 1521 his knowledge of modern languages became manifest when Robert Copland issued from his press at the sign of the Rose Garland, in Fleet Street, the 'Introductory to wryte and to pronounce Frenche,' 'compyled by Alexander Barclay compendiously at the commaundement of the ryght hye excellent and myghty prynce Thomas duke of Northfolke.' It was this book that provoked the grammarian Palsgrave to indignant comment in his 'L' Esclaircissement de la langue Française,' 1530.¹ The first allusion to Barclay is almost flattering:

'The right vertuous and excellent prince Thomas late Duke of Northfolke, hath commanded the studious clerke Alexander Barkelay to embusy himself about this exercise.'

But later he warns his readers to beware of Barclay's mistakes and adds:

'I have seen an old book written in parchment in manner in all things like to his said Introductory which by conjecture was not written this 100 years. I wot not if he happened to fortune upon such another.'

This is a pretty direct accusation of plagiarism, and it is quite likely that, as Morley remarks,² Barclay may have founded his book on a manuscript he had unearthed in the library at Ely.

It was at Ely also that the Lives of the Saints, attributed to the poet by Bale, were written—the lives of

Richard Sondon or Stondon, last prior, who surrendered the house in 1534.

Barclay may have known all these men, but it was most probably during Asshley's term of office that he visited the priory.

¹ Philological Society's Papers. A. J. Ellis. 'On Early English Pronunciation.' Part III.

² *English Writers*. Vol. VII, p. 112.

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St. Catherine, of St. Margaret, of St. Etheldreda, the foundress of Ely, and of St. George, which was taken from Mantuan and dedicated to Nicholas West, bishop of Ely. Probably the tract 'Alexander Barkley his figure of our mother holy Church oppressed by the French king' recorded by Andrew Maunsell in his Catalogue, 1595, belongs to this period of literary productivity. The Life of St. Thomas, if it be not apocryphal, may owe its existence to the connection of Barclay with the Franciscans at Canterbury, some time later; while the 'Orationes Varias' and the 'De Fide Orthodoxa,' mentioned as the poet's by Warton,¹ may have been the result of leisure hours at the Benedictine monastery.

While he was quietly working in the precincts of his beloved cathedral Barclay's fame was spreading abroad. On the 10th April, 1520, in the midst of the preparations for the Field of Cloth of Gold, Sir Nicholas Vaux² wrote to Wolsey begging that the prelate would send to him 'Mr. Maynn who dwelleth with the bishop of Excester, and Maistre Barkleye, the black monke and poete, to devise histories and convenient raisons to florisshe the buildings and banquet house withal.' Whether Barclay went to Guisnes at the injunction of Wolsey is not known, but the assumption of a temporary sojourn in France and an enforced absence from his monastery would help to explain the fact that, at about this time, though the exact date is unknown, he left the Benedictine order for that of the Franciscans, with whose habit, Bulleyn, writing in 1564, associates him.

Barclay's literary output seems to have ceased on his incorporation into the severer Minorite order, and his

¹ Warton took his information from Tanner, *Bibliotheca-Britannice-Hibernica*, who mentions, without stating his authority, *Orationes varias*; lib. 1: *De Fide Orthodoxa*, lib. 1 in a list of Barclay's works.

² *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.* Vol. III. No. 737. The manuscript—Calig. D.VII. 202 (B.M.).

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life to have become more adventurous. He appears to have been infected with the Lutheran heresy, to have escaped abroad and to have taken refuge in Germany, like Roye, Barlow and Tyndale. For in a letter written by the informer Hermann Rinck¹ to Wolsey and dated from Cologne, 4th October, 1528, Barclay is mentioned as an apostate friar. Rinck says:

‘. In my opinion . . . throughout the whole Roman Empire, especially in Germany, no rebels or traitors to the King of England shall be kept or suffered, much less heretics who excite sedition among the Christians of the whole kingdom of England. Edmund de la Pole, who called himself the duke of Suffolk, was demanded by King Philip, to be sent to England, as was fitting. Then William Roy, William Tyndale, Jerome Barlow, *Alexander Barckley*, and their adherents, formerly Observants of the order of St. Francis, but now Apostates, George Constans also, and many other rebels of the King’s grace, ought to be arrested, punished and delivered up on account of Lutheran heresy, which ought to be blotted out and rooted up, to confirm the Christian faith, of which there is much need in the kingdom of England.’

Some trouble with Wolsey seems to have occurred about the same date, for Friar John West, an informer

¹ *Letters and Papers*. Vol. IV. No. 4810. The manuscript—vit. B.xxi. 43. (B.M.) The original letter was written in Latin and the quoted passage reads: ‘Omnia propter eiusdem privilegii vigore et lege Edmundus dñs de la poel qui se dominum Suffolk nominabat per Regem Philippum desiderabatur, ut decuit erat in Angliam adduci. Deinde et Wilhelmus Roy, Wilhelmus Tyntaell, Hieronemus Barlo, Alexander Barckley et eorum adherentes etc. olim observantes, ordinis dñi francisci, nunc vero apostates, necnon et Georgius Constans et alii complures, R g obstrepantes, capi, plecti, et offerri debebant, ob heresiam lutheranā tum delandam eradicandam et ad fidem christianam confirmandam ut plurimum nunc opus est in Anglie regno.’

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in the Cardinal's pay, wrote to him on the 13th April, 1529,¹ asking that he might speak with him secretly, before he saw 'brother Alysander Barkley,' who had called Wolsey a tyrant and other 'opprobrious and blasphemous words.' However, despite his perilous incursion into the realms of theological controversy, and his tactless, if vigorous, criticism of Wolsey, Barclay appears to have returned to England and to have made his peace with the Church.

In view of later events it seems that Barclay's reaction from his temporary lapse into heresy must have been complete. He was an observant Franciscan, and, as such, would be resident at one of the six Observant friaries when these houses were suppressed in 1534. There is no record of his having proved obdurate, like his brothers of Greenwich, so he was in all probability handed over to a house of Conventual Franciscans. Harsh treatment was meted out to some Observants who were delivered into the keeping of the older branch of their order, for they seem to have been locked up and kept in chains. Perhaps Barclay managed to escape this severity. In 1536 the Conventual Houses were suppressed. Immediate surrender to the king meant retirement on pensions. But these money payments were by no means extended to all the ejected monks and friars, for of all the religious in England only about half appear to have received gratuities. The Friars fared badly. Only one or two individuals were granted any pension for their support, and Barclay does not seem to have been among them, for his name does not occur in the Augmentation Office records of Leases and Pensions. No doubt Barclay shared the privations which were the lot of so many of the ejected religious. Employment was by no means easy to find even when a 'capacity' or permission to act as one of the secular clergy had been obtained. The plight of the friars moved even Ingworth

¹ *Letters and Papers*. Vol. IV. Part III. No. 5463.

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to pity, for he wrote to Cromwell¹:

'I beg your lordship to be a good lord for the poor friars' capacities. They are very poor and can have little service without their capacities. The bishop and curates are very hard to them, without they have their capacities';

and again:

'They cannot be suffered to sing nor say in any parish church without they show the letters of their orders, my letters or their capacities notwithstanding. And, the charge for these letters of their orders be so great that the poor men be not able to bear it. Some must go a hundred miles to seek them. And when they come there the charge of searching the register is so great that they are not able to pay it, and so they come home again confounded.'

While in the Midlands² Ingworth

'strongly urged Cromwell as Vicar General to send down dispensations to allow friars to put off their habits and mix with the world as secular priests or laymen.'

The result was that friars had to discard their habits. Barclay must have regarded the dispensation with disapproval, for Foxe,³ the Martyrologist, records:

'Hereunto also pertaineth the example of Friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of the religious houses, Cromwell, coming through St. Paul's Churchyard and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "Will not that cowl of yours be left off yet? And if I hear by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for

¹ Gasquet. *Henry VIII and the English Monasteries*. Vol. II, p. 275.

² *Letters and Papers*. Vol. VII. Introduction.

³ *Acts and Monuments*. Townsend's edition. Vol. V, p. 396.

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example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.'

Gairdner¹ dates this incident August or September, 1538. The Windsor Herald, Charles Wriothesley,² gives a corroborative account in his Chronicle,³ for discussing the events of the year 1538, he says:

'Also this yere in June the Kinge gave a commaundement that noe religious persons of the suppressed houses or such other as used to live of the charitie of the people out of theyr religious houses should goe abroade in their religious habits, whereupon divers religious persons took secular priestes habittes, chaunginge theyr religious coates, as Doctor Barkley of the order of the Grey Fryers which was very loath to leave his ipochrytes coate till he was compelled for fear of punishment.'

Earlier in the year it seems that Barclay had been in Suffolk and had neglected to proclaim the King's supremacy. On 9th October, 1538, Robert Ward,⁴ a friar and informer, wrote to Cromwell

'in consequence of his commandments to curates and pastors for publishing the Word of God and inquiring for those who favour usurped power or traditions of the Church of Rome.'

He states that:

'In Barking parish, Suffolk, where Mr. Richard Redman is parson, the Word of God is not preached

¹ Gairdner. *Lollardy and the Reformation*. Vol. II, pp. 162-164.

² Charles Wriothesley (1508?-1562), fourth son of Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534) and first cousin to Thomas Wriothesley, first earl of Southampton. Created Windsor Herald, Christmas Day, 1534. The Chronicle was anonymous, but internal evidence points conclusively to Wriothesley's authorship. D.N.B.

³ Vol. I, p. 52.

⁴ *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 571.

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unless a stranger comes by chance, and those who have come have not set forth the King's title nor defaced the usurped power of the bishop of Rome; no, not Alexander Barkley who preached in Wytson holidays.'

After the sermon Ward

'spoke to him of his negligence before the parson and Mr. Walter Watland, one of the justices.'

The temerity with which Barclay clung to his religious beliefs at this dangerous period is really admirable. Some months later he must have made his way down into Cornwall, for a country gentleman, one William Dynham, wrote on the 12th October to Cromwell from Lyfton,¹ an amusing account of a conversation he had had with 'Alexander Barckley.' Dynham writes:

'Of late I came to the priory of St. Germaine in Cornwall, and sat at supper with the prior, accompanied by Alexander Barckley, who the day before preached in honour of the Blessed Virgin, but not so much to the edifying of his audience as his demeanour next day was, I heard, to their destruction. At supper I moved such questions as I thought might do good to the audience. He served my purpose, till, "after a sodeyne dompe he brake silence, as a man that had spoken too well (and yet a frere in a somewhat honester weed)" and glorified himself. He first protested he would speak no new things. not set out by the King and his Council. I answered wondering what he meant when all men of literature and judgment "knew that our so Christian a prince and his Council set forth no new thing but the gospell of Christ and the sincere verity thereof."

¹ *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 596. The manuscript—Ellis, 3 Ser. iii, 112 (R.O.)—I have quoted from the abridged and modernized version of the *Letters and Papers*.

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Barckley replied, "I would to God that at least the laws of God might have as much authority as the laws of the realm." I asked him what he meant and Barckley said, "Nothing," but he thought men were too busy pulling down images without special commandment of the prince. I answered I knew none pulled down except such as idolatry was committed unto, and reminded him "of St. Margarets Patentis rode" Here he demanded what followed thereof? I requiring him to answer his demand, he said I knew how many tenements and some people were burnt soon upon. "What Barckley?" said I, "here is somewhat moved; ye have a versatile ingeyne, but were ye so sleper as an eel, here will I hold you. Would you infect this audience with that opinion, that God for such cause plagued them? Your cankered heart is disclosed. My true little stomach with reverence of the prior and his board must be opened lest it break. You are, Barckley, a false knave and a dissembling frere. You get no pence might I rule here. You seek your own profit vocall to hinder the truth, more than unity to set forth the true and princely endeavour of our most Crysten and of his church Supremest Head most laudable enterprises; whereof I trust thou shalt hear." "

Apparently Barclay was not perturbed by Dynham's protests, which may not have been so virulent as he represents them in writing, for his opinions remained unchanged, and he preached against the new order of things. These sermons of his, and his staunch adherence to the old faith brought him into prominence, and on 28th October in the same year (1538) Latimer wrote Cromwell from Haylles¹ that

¹ *Letters and Papers*. Vol. XIII. Part II. No. 709. The manuscript —Ellis, iii, 249 (R.O.).

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‘Frere Bartlow does much hurt in Cornwall and in Daynshire both with open preaching and private communication.’

There is no record of Barclay’s having suffered persecution for his unwillingness to recognize Henry VIII as head of the Church. Warton¹ observes that he must eventually have temporized with the changes in religion, for in 1546, being at this time Doctor of Divinity, according to Wood,² he had two livings presented to him. On February 7th he was appointed vicar of Much Badew or Great Baddow in Essex,³ and on March 30th he became, on the death of Mr. Richard Eryngton, vicar of the church of St. Matthew the Apostle, at Wokey in Somerset.⁴

Discussing the history of the parish church of Great Baddow, Morant, in his *History of Essex*,⁵ says that Pascall did not obtain possession of the Rectory, Church and Advowson of the Vicarage until December 19th, 1547. In this case there would seem to be some doubt about the date of Barclay’s Essex appointment. However, he does not seem to have taken up his residence at Great Baddow until January of the year 1549. A study of the town Depositions preserved in the Record Office⁶ has brought to light several interesting facts concerning Barclay’s life in Essex. It appears that in the Hilary Term ‘Anno Primo Marie’ (Jan. 23rd - Feb. 12th, 1553-4), John Paschall (sic) sued Thomas Eden and

¹ *History of English Poetry*.

² *Athenæ Oxonienses*.

³ Newcourt’s *Repertorium II*, 25. ‘Baddow Magna, Vicarage (Holy Virgin) Alexander Barkley S.T.P. 7th February 1546 per mort.

John Clowes

presented by John Pascall, gent.’

⁴ Wood. *Athenæ*. Vol. I, p. 207. Register Wellens.

⁵ Vol. II, p. 20.

⁶ Court of Chancery. Town Depositions. C/24/32. I give the matter in detail as it has not been noticed before.

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Thomas Atkynson, Barclay's executors, for the restitution of a sum of money he alleged was owing to him. Unfortunately only the complainant's story has been preserved. What the defendants had to say for themselves we do not know, but enough remains for us to be able to reconstruct a lively picture of the events which led to the case.

Barclay apparently had arrived at Great Baddow to find the vicarage uninhabitable, had betaken himself with his servant 'John A More' to John Paschall's house, and had lived there entertaining his friends and parishioners right royally at his host's expense. Clearly a case of the biter bit! Poor Paschall—he must have found Barclay a difficult incumbent! This emerges from the evidence of the first witness, one John Christofreson, Gent., of Odell, Beds., who is described as 'of the age of xli yeres and upwarde.' His deposition is slightly confused—perhaps he was nervous. He began by saying that he was familiarly acquainted with Alexander Barclay who, 'aboute three yeres past or more,' perceiving that he was familiar also with John Paschall, declared to him sundry matters 'in question' between them, asserting 'that the said John Paschall had not fryndelly usyd hym as his expectacion was he wold have done.' Moreover, Barclay said that he had delivered to Paschall £15 'and upwards' for the building of a house 'at the vicaradge' of Baddow and that there were 'other mattres of reconyng.' Barclay had 'movyd' Paschall 'that they might recone together,' and Paschall had shown himself 'conformable so to do,' yet notwithstanding 'he came not forward therwith.' Christofreson was therefore urged to use his influence with Paschall, to whom he spoke and 'movyd hym to come to a reconyng.' Paschall promised to do so, and prayed the deponent to show Barclay that it was the thing he most desired 'and had oft on his parte before that requyred the said Mr. Barqueley therunto and prayed to have

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hyme to peruse his boke of the reconynge to be had bytwene them.' Later, Christofreson being appointed 'arbitror indifferent,' a day was fixed for the hearing of the reckoning. Barclay was at this time staying with Atkynson and failed to keep the appointment, nor does he seem to have been anxious to meet Paschall, for, if we are to trust the evidence, he made no further effort to do so, although he was heard to say 'that he did not mystrust but the said Paschall wold fryndely ynoughe come to a reconynge.' Furthermore Barclay told the witness that he had bargained with the carpenter 'and as he remembreth with the said John Paschall for to sett hym uppe a house at Badowe aforesaid, and as he said the Carpynter was a loytrynge knave and had not kept towche for if he had he said he had layne there still and by meane therof was muche disquyetyd for lacke of his house that it was not hansome for hym, wherefore he said he was fayne to lye at Mr. Paschalls house in Badowe when he came thither.' At the same time he told the deponent 'he had a great losse by a priest of Chelmysford to whome he had of trust dellyveryd a great sum of gold ' to be kept to his use.' This priest 'was ronne awaye with all, wherby he was then muche disquyeteyd in mynde.' So the deposition ends,¹ revealing the poet who, like Sancho, had an inexhaustible store of proverbial wisdom at his fingers' ends, the dupe of a 'loyteryng,' knavish carpenter and of a rascally priest—in fact, the victim of a Tudor confidence trick.

The next witness, Robert Rutland, of Duxforth, 'of the age of xxxii' is not designated as 'Gent.,' so that in all probability he and his wife were in service with the Paschalls. His deposition begins with the statement that 'Alexander Barquelay clerke decessyd, did soierne and had meete drynke fyrewood lodgynges wasshyng

¹ Some words obscured.

² Signed 'per me Joannem Christoforson' in a pretty italic.

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candell and other necessaryes at commandement for hym and John A More his servaunt at the only costes and chardges of the said John Paschall in Moche Badowe weekly' from the 8th day of January in the second year of the reign of Edward VI to the Thursday before Passion Sunday.¹ Rutland knew this because he and his wife were at that time living in Paschall's house, and his wife 'pervayed all the said necessaryes duringe the said tyme for the said Alexander Barqueley and his said servaunt.'

Moreover, Barclay was accustomed to entertain divers parishioners and 'fryends' to 'dinner and supper at the costes and chardges of the said John.' Barclay is alleged to have said on leaving the house that 'he did put the said John to great chardges concernynge the premysses for the which . . . he wold agree with hym and see hym satysfied.' According to the witness 'the said Alexander ought to have paied and allowed unto the said John wekely for the premisses during the tyme aforesaid 10/-.' Apparently Barclay told Rutland that he had delivered to Paschall a certain sum of money towards the building of a new house 'to be sett upon the vicaradge of Moche Badowe.' Rutland did not know what the sum was, nor whether Barclay had a receipt for it. He knew, though, that Paschall 'by the only meanes and request of the said Alexander did buye of William Seymer of Estehānfylde² eyght carte lodes of pales postes and rayles bestowed upon the fensynge and enclosyng of the vicaradge aforesaid and also xxx lodes of Tymber or thereaboutes towards the buyldyng of the said house.' The incident of the carpenter is mentioned. In the presence of the witness 'the said Alexander Barqueley did attempt to bargayne with the Carpynter that should

¹ Barclay must have lived with Paschall for almost three months. Easter Day of the year 1548-9 fell on the 21st April, therefore Passion Sunday (4th Sunday in Lent) was observed on 7th April.

² East Haningfield, 'vulgarly called Hanville.'

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have sett uppe the said house and for that he could not agree with hym therefore he causyd the said John Paschall to bargayne with the same Carpynter therin.' This statement ends the evidence. Paschall, it seems, got rid of the Parsonage house, which must have been a thorn in his side, as soon as he could, for by license dated 12th October, 1554, he sold it to a certain John Sammes and Joan his wife for life.

To return, Wadding¹ records that Barclay was appointed suffragan bishop of Bath and Wells:

'factus est cappellanus Thomæ Cornitii Taven. Episcopi, et postea diœcesis Batthoniensis suffraganeus.'

This must be a mistake, for no other record of such a preferment exists. Probably Wadding, thinking of Cornish, applied the phrase to Barclay; or perhaps he confused him with his namesake Gilbert Berkeley, who was appointed bishop of Bath and Wells, 1559-1560. On 30th April, 1522, Barclay was appointed Rector of All Hallows,² Lombard Street, by the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury. He was succeeded by Peter Alexander on the 24th August, and seems to have died in June, for on the 10th of the month he was buried at Croydon. He appears to have spent the last years of his life 'in pious matters and in reading the histories of the saints,'³ and must have made a worthy end. Of all his biographers Bale alone disparages him, but this disparagement doubtless proceeds from the intense hatred which

¹ *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*. Rome, 1806. P. 5.

² Hennessey. *Novum Repertorium*, p. 78.

Newcourt's *Repertorium*, I, 254 'All Hallows, Lombard Street, Rectory. Alexander Barkeley S.T.P. 30th April 1552 per resig. Will. Jennings. Patroni dec. et Cap. Eccles. præd.'

'24th Aug. Pet. Alexander S.T.P.' succeeded Barclay.

³ Wood. *Athenæ*. Cf. Pit, *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*, p. 745. 'Omne suum studium in rebus pijs, et historijs sanctorum legendis atque scribendis posuit.'

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the bishop of Ossory felt for all who were averse from his extreme, fanatical Protestantism. He certainly had no love for Barclay—not only does he say of him: ‘

‘in omnibus veritatis osor et sub cœlibatus fuco
fœdus adulter perpetuo mansit’;

but in his ‘Declaration of Edmonde Bonner’s Articles’² he relates a story which exemplifies his statement. This anecdote relates that:

‘Doctoure Barkleye hadde greate harme ones of such a visitacioun at Wellys, before he was Quene Maryes Chaplayne. For the woman who he so religiouslye visited did light him of all that he had, saving his working tolas. For the whiche acte, he had her in prison and yet coulede nothing recover againe.’

Possibly here, too, there is some confusion with Gilbert Berkeley, bishop of Bath and Wells, for the allusion to ‘Quene Maryes Chaplayne’ cannot refer to the poet. Gilbert Berkeley, however, does not appear to have been a man of loose life, indeed, he is described³ as

‘of great gravity and singular integrity of life’

and as an

‘excellent and constant preacher of God’s word.’

On the other hand, he does not seem to have been so diligent as the size of his diocese required, and it

‘inclined to superstition and the papal religion.’

It may have been this latter fact that aroused Bale’s fury and invective. But there is very little truth and a good

¹ *Scriptorum illustriū maioris Brytannie*. Basilæ, 1557-9, p. 723.

² ‘A declaration of Edmonde Bonner’s Articles concerning the clearynge of London diocese whereby that execrable Antichrist is in his right colours reveled in the yeare of our Lord 1554,’ published by ‘Jhon Tysdall,’ London, 1561.

³ Cf. D.N.B. Strype I. 128.

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deal of spite in the words of an angry man, and it is best not to take Bale seriously.

Barclay's will, written on 25th July, 1551, and proved 10th June, 1552, reveals him as a benevolent man, thoughtful of his friends and of the poor of his parishes. He styles himself Doctor of Divinity and may have obtained this degree, as Wood suggests, in or about the year 1546. He makes several bequests, especially to the family of Thomas Atkynson of London, 'scryvener,' whose wife Parnell, Barclay calls his 'cosyn.' He chose the scrivener as one of his executors, and it is pleasant to think that, as the relations between them were friendly, Barclay may have stayed with Atkynson when he came to the capital in 1509 to see his *Ship of Fools* through the press.

The phenomenon of Barclay's career, the fact that his literary activity so soon ceased, is not without parallel even in comparatively modern times, for the young French poet, Arthur Rimbaud, tired of writing verse at the age of twenty. Barclay may have regarded his spiritual labours as of supreme importance in his life, and have valued his literary achievements less and less with the passing of years. When he was involved in theological dispute, he was obviously too busy and pre-occupied to devote any time to the laborious work of translation. And perhaps, when leisure was his, in the quiet of his old age, inspiration, the urge to write, had forsaken him.

THE ECLOGUES

THE Idyllia of Theocritus brought to Alexandria, satiated with opulence and luxury, sweet and gracious memories of country scenes and country people.

The freshness and simplicity of his pictures of Sicilian rustic life provided at once a beautiful contrast to and a delightful escape from the sordid realities of an almost oriental city. At its inception pastoral poetry was not divorced from, but instinct with, a slightly idealized actuality.

In the hands of the Roman Virgil the Theocritan idyll lost its pristine freshness and simplicity of motive and became a vehicle for matters of more pith and moment. Artificiality insidiously attacked the pastoral form, conversations between shepherds ranged from didactic homilies to panegyrics of living persons, and the bucolic poem fell a victim to allegory. The fame of the poet, the nature of his poetry, the interest and value of which depended on matter as much as on manner, and the fact that during the Middle Ages Latin was the universal language, while Greek was almost lost, combined to make Virgil, rather than Theocritus, the model of all later pastoral verse. For before the Revival of Learning had made Greek accessible, Petrarch and Boccaccio had established the supremacy of the Virgilian tradition.

The Pastoral did not appeal to the Humanists as a means of escape from the world which is too much with us, but as a useful instrument of satire for which, in its Virgilian form, it afforded enormous facilities. Thus Petrarch, who seems to have been well aware of the allegorical nature of Virgil's work and the opportunities it afforded for covert references to contemporary events, 'adopted the pastoral form for definite purposes of

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utility.' His twelve Latin 'Eglogæ' composed in the middle of the fourteenth century, contain in their pastoral framework, the bitterest denunciations of ecclesiastical abuses. Satire and allegorical allusion persists in the sixteen Latin Eclogues of Boccaccio, who acknowledged Petrarch as his master in the kind, but it was in the works of Baptista Spagnolo, better known as Mantuanus, that the Renaissance, or rather Humanist, eclogue received its definite form.

Mantuan (1448-1516), a Carmelite monk, who finally (1513) became General of his order, wrote ten Eclogues which were first printed in 1498, and which were acclaimed by the sixteenth century as inferior to those of Virgil alone. He made his Eclogues the vehicle of virulent satire and infused into them a drastic and somewhat breezy realism. The first three Eclogæ treat of love and its excesses, the fourth is a violent diatribe against women, the fifth exposes the niggardly attitude of rich men towards poor poets, the sixth lashes the luxury and vice of cities, and the last four discuss various aspects of religion. The interlocutors are invariably rough herdsmen, one of whom

'commonly compensates by a more than pastoral simplicity for the other's more than pastoral enlightenment.'

These poems seem to have fascinated Barclay with the rest of his contemporaries, for he took them as his model and was the first to write the formal eclogue in the vernacular.² It is very difficult to assign a definite

¹ Suggested by the preponderance of goatherds in Theocritus. The Elizabethans followed Petrarch; thus E.K. writes: 'Æglogai . . . that is, Goteheards tales.' The correct spelling and derivation were ignored.

The Greek Eklogai meant literally 'selections,' the Latin Ecloga 'a choice passage,' 'a short poem.' Virgil applied the term to his *Bucolica*, and from this association it gained the sense of 'pastoral poem.'

² The step had already been taken in Italy, where 'vernacular compositions developed approximately parallel to, though usually in imitation of, those in the learned tongue.' W. W. Greg. *Pastoral Poetry*, p. 30.

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date to Barclay's pastoral adventure. Various editions of his work exist, but only one is dated, the last. He seems to have written five eclogues, three of which were an adaptation of the *Miseria Curialium* of Ænius Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II. These three were published, with a Prologue, by an anonymous printer, by John Herford, and by Humphrey Powell¹ at uncertain dates. The fourth, translated from Mantuan's fifth, and the fifth, a translation of Mantuan's sixth, were printed separately by Pynson and Wynkyn de Worde respectively. Later, in 1570, the five eclogues were appended by John Cawood² to his edition of the *Ship of Fools*. Pynson died in 1530, and as he was concerned in the printing of one of the eclogues it seems probable that the whole series was written before that date. Fortunately, the poems themselves offer some information about the date of their composition. But even here there are discrepancies. In the first Eclogue allusion is made to Henry VII in terms which suggest that he had only recently died:

'noble Henry which nowe departed late.'

A little later in the same poem occurs a covert reference to Empson and Dudley who were executed on a trumped-up charge of high treason in August, 1510:

'Such as for honour unto the court resort,
Looke seldome times upon the lower sort:
To the hyer sort for moste part they intende,
For still their desire is hyer to ascende.
And when none can make with them comparison,
Against their princes conspire they by treason.

¹ Humphrey Powell's edition of the Eclogues, c. 1548, differs considerably in spelling and punctuation from Cawood's. Important differences will be indicated.

² The Spenser Society facsimile of Cawood's edition differs in some particulars from its original. It would seem that type facsimiles are less accurate than ordinary reprints.

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Then when their purpose can not come well to
frame,
Agayne they discende and that with utter shame.
Coridon thou knowest right well what I meane,
We lately of this experience have seene.'

Again, in the same poem, are passages on the deaths of Bishops Morton and Alcock which seem to have been written at the time of the events they commemorate.

Of Morton the poet says:

c. 1500:

'O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake,
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,
Would God that we could get him to live agayne.
What time he lived some did him blame iwis,
Which since he died do him sore lacke and mis.'

Of Alcock:

'When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,
Like death for weping I might no longer bide.'

These prelates are mentioned again in the third Eclogue:

'And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,
Howe his olde servauntes were carefull of his chere.'

and

'My harte sore mourneth when I must specify
Of the gentle Cocke whiche sange so mirily.'

The fourth Eclogue contains a long allegorical poem entitled,

'The description of the Towre of vertue and honour,
into the which the noble Hawarde contended to
enter by worthy actes of chivalry,'

which resolves itself into an elegy on the death of Sir Edward Howard, Lord High Admiral and second son of the Earl of Surrey, who was drowned off Brest, 1513.

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Such a tribute could not have been written long after the event it laments, but must have been composed subsequent to the promotion of Surrey to the Dukedom of Norfolk, which he received for his services at Flodden soon after the battle, but which was not publicly conferred on him until the 1st February, 1514. In the course of his poem Barclay speaks of:

‘Moste noble Hawarde the duke and protectour,
Named of Northfolke the floure of chivalry.’

Such an allusion would have been impossible before the 9th September, 1513 (Battle of Flodden Field).

It seems, then, that the Eclogues were a compilation, written at different stages of the poet's career. This is precisely the explanation he offers in his Prologue, and though this is translated fairly closely from Mantuan, there is no reason to doubt Barclay's statement that the poems represent a revision of youthful labours:

‘So where I in youth a certayne worke began,
And not concluded, as oft doth many a man:
Yet thought I after to make the same perfite,
But long I missed that which I first did write.
But here a wonder, I fortie yere save twayne
Proceeded in age, founde my first youth agayne.
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer muse.
As I late turned olde bookes to and fro,
One litle treatise I founde among the mo:
Because that in youth I did compile the same,
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.
And seing some men have in the same delite,
At their great instance I made the same perfite.
Adding and bating¹ where I perceyved neede.’

He had probably translated the tract of Ænius Sylvius into the form of a dialogue fairly early in his career.

¹ For ‘abate’—to reduce, decrease, diminish.

Introduction: The Eclogues

The publication of Virgil's *Bucolics* by Wynkyn de Worde in 1512 and again in 1514 may have re-directed his attention to the pastoral and set him revising previous translations from Mantuan. It seems almost certain that, in the year 1514, realising how excellently the pastoral dress would, according to the ideas of the Humanists, enhance the satire of Pius II's *Miseriæ Curialium*, he revised the fifth and fourth eclogues from Mantuan, interpolated into the latter a long elegy on a recent event, and then, correcting his *Miseries of Courtiers*, inserted it into a pastoral frame.

The fifth eclogue reveals a closer dependence on Mantuan than the fourth, and was probably the first to be revised. The three poems on the misery of court life are bolder in execution and may have been given their final form after the other two of the series. But this is a moot point, for by each printer they are alluded to as the 'first three eclogues' and in the collected edition of Cawood they precede the fourth and fifth.

To insist on the historical to the detriment of the literary value of Barclay's Eclogues, is to damn them with faint praise. It would be easy to condemn them as pedestrian and hopelessly prolix, and to deny them most of the qualifications expected of poetry. But if they never transport, they frequently rouse, sometimes delight, and seldom fail to interest and amuse. All long poems are in a sense failures, for it is impossible to maintain the same high level of transport or ecstasy, wit or interest, throughout. Purple patches are inevitable. The Eclogues are no exception, for one remembers with pleasure the lively description of winter evenings in the fourth, the humorous tale of Adam and Eve and the lines on football in the fifth, and the Alcock passages in the first and third.

The versification is little rough, but not unpleasant, and the style vigorous, if not at times actually racy. Barclay seems to have been a serious man with a subtle

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sense of humour, for he is never tired of driving home a moral with a proverb. He quotes proverbs with the persistency of Sancho Panza. But this habit of appeal to popular wisdom lends considerable force to the simplicity and directness of his diction.¹ No unprejudiced reader would suspect for a moment that the Eclogues were a compilation, so successfully blended are the various elements of which they are composed.

Barclay was a pioneer, but he was probably quite unaware of the momentous step he was taking in introducing in humble guise a literary form which was to produce some of the purest poetry of the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth.'

His influence upon his successors in the pastoral kind seems to have been almost negligible. Barnabe Googe² is quite independent of Barclay, and Francis Sabie³ is indebted to him for nothing but an occasional hint, while E.K. suggests in his prefatory letter to the 'Shepherds Calendar' that Spenser was unaware of the existence of Barclay's work, writing that he chose the Eclogue form:

'mynding to furnish our tongue with this Kinde,
wherein it faulteth.'⁴

¹ Analogous is the frequent and effective citation of English place-names.

² Barnabe Googe: 'Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnettes,' 1563, modelled on Mantuan.

³ Francis Sabie—'Pan's Pipe,' 1595—indebted to Mantuan and other Latin writers. Some lines may have been suggested by Barclay.

⁴ It is hardly possible that Spenser was ignorant of Barclay's poems. There was a general revival of earlier writers at this time. Hawe's *Pastime of Pleasure* was reprinted in 1555, Skelton's works were reprinted in 1568, and Heywood's *Proverbs* were reprinted five times between 1560 and 1576. Moreover, in 1570, Cawood published his folio edition of the *Ship of Fools* to which the Eclogues were appended. This was the year following Spenser's entrance to Cambridge, so that

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This neglect seems to have been due, not to any ignorance of Barclay's work, but to the overshadowing fame of Mantuan.

'The popularity of the Latin Eclogues was so enormous that later poets turned to him for inspiration, form and material.'

Moreover, the cast of Barclay's mind was entirely mediæval. He has much more in common with Lydgate

it is unlikely that he knew nothing of these earlier pastorals. E.K.'s epistle bears some resemblance to Barclay's Prologue; his 'following the example of the best and most auncient Poetes, which devised this kind of wryting, being both so base for the matter, and homely for the manner, at the first to trye theyr habilities; and as young birdes, that be newly crept out of the nest, by little first to prove theyr tender wynges, before they make a greater flyght,' recalls Barclay's

'Therefore wise Poetes to sharpe and proue their wit,
In homely iestes wrote many a mery fit.
Before they durst be of audacitie
Tauenture thinges of weyght and grauitie,'

and

'The birde vnused first flying from her nest
Dare not aduenture, and is not bolde nor prest
With winges abroade to flye as doth the olde,
For vse and custome causeth all thing be bolde.'

The list of pastoral poets is the same in both—Theocritus, Virgil, Mantuan, Petrarch, Boccaccio. But 'although Spenser has drawn largely upon Mantuan, sometimes upon the very eclogues used by Barclay, there is no resemblance to the latter other than that gained by possession of a common source.' 'Spenser apparently owes nothing to his predecessor. Nor is there any indebtedness in the *Shepherds Calendar* to parts of the Eclogues not taken from Mantuan. A comparison of the two pastorals entire, shows that there is no more than an accidental verbal resemblance or one due to common use of a familiar proverb.'

('Alexander Barclay and the later Eclogue writers.' J. R. Schultz. *Modern Language Notes*. Vol. 35, pp. 52-4.)

(O. Reissert. 'Bemerkungen über Spenser's *Shepherds Calendar* und die Frühere Bukolik.' *Anglia* ix, 205.)

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than with Spenser. It is as a translator that he excels, and on his own ground he is hard to beat. Comparisons are odious, but a necessary evil when literary reputations are at stake.

In 1567 Mantuan's Eclogues were rendered into English verse by George Turberville,¹ and again in 1655 by Thomas Harvey.² Barclay's manly verse quite eclipses Turberville's emasculate jingle, and compares very favourably with Harvey's more polished effort. The same passage from Mantuan's fifth Eclogue appears in Barclay's translation as:

'A plentifull house out chaseth thought and care,
Sojourne doth sorowe there where all thing is bare,
The seller couched with bere, with ale or wine,
And meates ready when man hath lust to dine,
Great barnes full, fat wethers in the folde,
The purse well stuffed with silver and with golde,
Favour of frendes, and suche as loveth right
All these and other do make thee full light,
Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens amonge
To watche by the fire the winters nightes longe:
At their fonde tales to laugh, or when they brall,
Great fire and candell spending for laboure small,
And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
To cover wardens for fault of other warke.

¹ 'The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan,
Turned into English Verse, and set forth with the
Argument to every Egloge by George Turberville Gent.

Anno 1567.

Imprinted at London in Paternoster Rowe,
at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman.'

(The first nine Eclogues.)

² 'The Bucolicks of Baptist Mantuan in Ten Eclogues. Translated
out of Latine into English, by Tho: Harvey Gent. London.

Printed for Humphrey Moseley, and are to be sold at his Shop at
the Princes Armes in S. Pauls Churchyard.' 1655.

Introduction: The Eclogues

To taste white shevers, and to make prophitroles,
And after talking oft time to fill the bowles.
Where wealth aboundeth without rebuke or crime,
Thus do some heardes for pleasure and pastime—'

in Turberville's as:

'A house that stored is with wealth
 where trash and treasure lies,
Doth cruell cares exile
 and banish dumpes away.
A Sellar full, Foldes stuff with flockes,
 Pots full as ere they may:
A Flaggon full to brimme,
 as much as it can holde,
Barne full, fatte Cattle, and a Purse
 puft up with peysing Golde,
These make the merry minde.
 Then pleasaunt 'tis to wake
The Winter nights, and with a sticke
 at fiers side to make
Good sport with streking of
 the Asshes furrowise:
And roast the Chestnutte that yrakt
 in scalding imber lies.
And with an alie Cruse
 the cruell thirst to quell,
And pleasaunt tales among a route
 of spinning Trulls to tell—'

and in Harvey's rendering as:

'Well furnish'd houses, Cellers full of wine,
Full vessels, flaggons full, full food to dine.
Barns full of Corn, fair flocks that bear the Bell,
Full bags of money; These all cares expell.
Then in December, in those winter nights,
To sit before the fire it much delights,

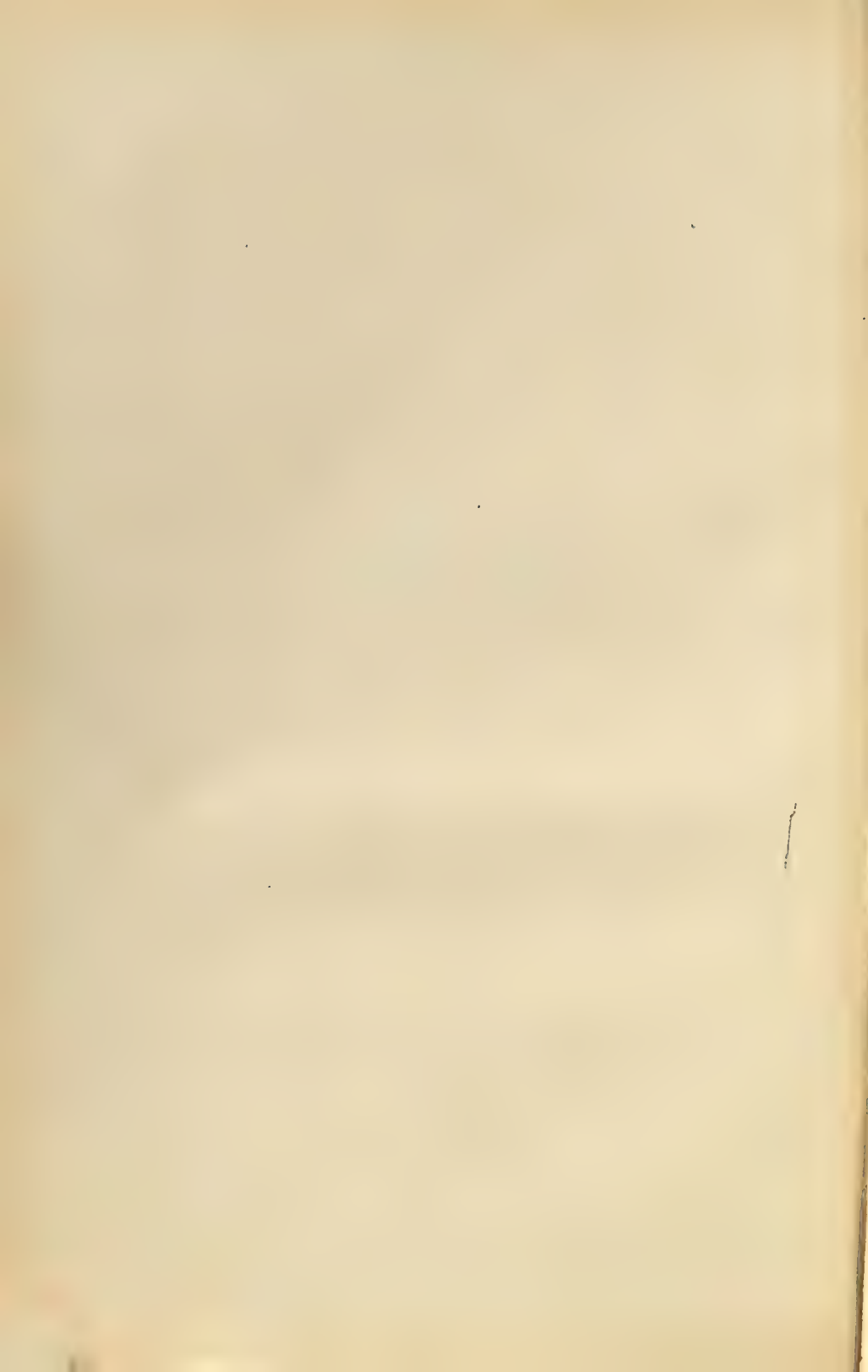
Introduction: The Eclogues

And there in th' ashes (for a sporting trick)
To plough up furrows with a little stick;
To rost ripe Chestnuts there, and them all over
With embers till they rosted are, to cover;
With full fill'd glasses of refined wine
To quench our thirst, to please our taste. In fine,
Among the merry spinning Maids to sit,
And hear them tell a Tale, and laugh at it.'

It would not be unfair, all things considered, to give the palm to Barclay, who appears to aim not at a rigid adherence to the letter, but at a skilful adaptation to English conditions, not at a Procrustean adjustment of form to sense, but at the production of analogous effects, at transfusion rather than at translation.



Barclay's Eclogues



Certayne Egloges of Alexander Barclay Priest,
Whereof the first three conteyne the miseryes of
Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall,
Gathered out of a booke named in Latin, MISERIÆ
*CVRIALIVM,*¹ compiled by *Eneas Syluius*² Poet and
Oratour.

The Prologe.

THe famous Poetes with the Muses nine
With wit inspired, fresh, pregnant and diuine,
Say, boldly indite in stile substantiall:
Some in Poemes hye and heroicall,
Some them delite in heauy Tragedies, 5
And some in wanton or mery Comedies.
Some in Satyres against vices dare carpe,
Some in sweete songes accordant with the harpe.
And eche of these all had laude and excellence
After their reason and stile of eloquence. 10
Who in fayre speeche could briefly comprehend
Moste fruitfull matter, men did him moste commende.
And who were fruitlesse, and in speeche superflue,
Men by their writing scantly set a qu.³
Therefore wise Poetes to sharpe and proue their wit, 15
In homely iestes wrote many a mery fit.
Before they durst be of audacitie
Taunture thinges of weyght and grauitie.
In this saide⁴ maner the famous Theocrite
First in Siracuse attempted for to write 20
Certayne Egloges or speeches pastorall,
Inducing Shepherdes, men homely and rurall.
Which in playne language, according to their name,
Had sundry talking, sometime of mirth and game,⁵
Sometime of thinges more like to grauitie, 25
And not exceeding their small capacitie.
Moste noble Uirgill after him longe while
Wrote also Egloges after like maner stile.
His wittes prouing in matters pastorall,
Or he durst venture to stile heroicall. 30

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And in like maner nowe lately in our dayes
Hath other Poetes attempted the same wayes:
As the moste famous Baptist Mantuan
The best of that sort since Poetes first began.
And Frauncis Petrarke also in Italy 35
In like maner stile wrote playne and meryly.
What shall I speake of the father auncient,¹
Which in brieve language both playne and eloquent,
Betwene Alatheia, Sewstis stoute and bolde
Hath made rehearsall of all thy² storyes olde, 40
By true historyes vs teaching to obiect
Against vayne fables of olde Gentiles sect.
Beside all these yet finde I many mo
Which haue employed their diligence also,
Betwene Sheperdes, as it were but a fable, 45
To write of matters both true and profitable.
But all their names I purpose not to write,
Which in this maner made bookes infinite.
Nowe to my purpose, their workes worthy fame
Did in³ my yonge age my heart greatly inflame. 50
Dull slouth eschewing,⁴ my selfe to exercise
In such small matters, or I durst enterprise
To hyer matter, like as these children do,
Which first vse to creepe, and afterwarde to go.⁵
The birde vnused first flying from her nest 55
Dare not aduenture, and is not bold nor prest
With winges abroad to flye as doth the olde,
For vse and custome causeth all thing⁶ be bolde:
And litle cunning by craft and exercise
To perfect science causeth a man to rise. 60
But or the Paynter can sure his craft attayne,
Much froward fashion transfourmeth he in vayne.
But rasing superflue, and adding that doth want,
Rude picture is made both perfect and pleasant.
So where I in youth a certayne worke began,⁷ 65
And not concluded, as oft doth many a man:
Yet thought I after to make the same perfite,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But long I missed that which I first did write.
But here a wonder, I fortie yere saue twayne
Proceeded¹ in age, founde my first youth agayne. 70
To finde youth in age is a probleme diffuse,
But nowe heare the truth, and then no longer muse.²
As I late turned olde bookes to and fro,
One litle treatise I founde among the mo:
Because that in youth I did compile the same, 75
Egloges of youth I did call it by name.³
And seing some men haue in the same delite,
At their great instance I made the same perfitte.
Adding and bating where I perceyued neede,
All them desiring which shall this treatise rede, 80
Not to be grieued with any playne sentence⁴
Rudely conuayed for lacke of eloquence.
It were not fitting a heard or man rurall
To speake in termes gay and rhetoricall.
So teacheth Horace in arte of poetry, 85
That writers namely their reason should apply
Mete speeche appropriing to euey personage,
After his estate, behauour, wit and age.
But if that any would nowe to me obiect
That this my labour shall be of small effect, 90
And to the Reader not greatly profitable,
And by that maner as vayne and reprouable,
Because it maketh onely relation
Of Shepherdes maner and disputation.
If any suche reade my treatise to the ende 95
He shall well perceyue, if he thereto intende,
That it conteyneth both laudes of vertue,⁵
And man infourmeth misliuing to eschue,
With diuers bourdes and sentences morall,
Closed in shadowe of speeches pastorall, 100
As many Poetes (as I haue sayde beforne)
Haue vsed longe time before that I was borne.
But of their writing though I ensue the rate,
No name I chalenge of Poete laureate. Ai

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That name vnto them is mete and doth agree 105
Which writeth matters with curiositee.
Mine habite blacke accordeth not with grene,
Blacke betokeneth death as it is dayly sene,
The grene is pleasour, freshe lust and iolite,¹
These two in nature hath great diuersitie. 110
Then who would ascribe, except he were a foole,
The pleasaunt laurer vnto the mourning cowle.
Another rewarde abideth my labour,
The glorious sight of God my sauour,
Which is chiefe shepheard and head of other all, 115
To him for succour in this my worke I call,
And not on Clío nor olde Melpomene,
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be
[That he me direct, my mynde for to expresse:
That he, to good ende, my wyt and pen addresse.]* 120
For to accomlishe my purpose and entent
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent,
And to the profite, the pleasour and the mede,
Of all them which shall this treatise here and rede.
But to the Reader nowe to returne agayne, 125
First of this thing I will thou be certayne,
That fīue Egloges this whole treatise doth holde,²
To imitation of other Poetes olde.
In whiche Egloges shepheardes thou mayst see
In homely language not passing their degree, 130
Sometime³ disputing of courtly misery,
Sometime of Uenus disceatfull tiranny.
Sometime commending loue honest and laudable,
Sometime despising loue false and⁴ deceyuable,
Sometime despising and blaming auarise, 135
Sometime exciting vertue to exercise,
Sometime of warre abhorring the outrage,
And of the same time the manifold damage,
And other matters, as after shall appeare
To their great pleasure which shal them rede or heare. 140

* From Humphrey Powell's edition.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

The Argument of the First Egloge.¹

TWo simple shepheardes met on a certayne day,
The one well aged and with lockes hore and gray,
Which after labours and worldly busines
Concluded to liue in rest and quietnes.
Yet nought had he kept to finde him cloth nor fode, 145
At diuers holes his heare grewe through his hode,
A stiffe patched felt hanging ouer his eyne,
His costly clothing was thredbare kendall grene,²
His patched cockers³ skant reached to his knee,
In the side of his felte there stacke a spone of tree,⁴ 150
A bottle his cote on the one side had torne,
For hanging the eare was nere a sunder worne.
In his owne⁵ hande alway his pipe he bare,
Whereof the sound him released⁶ of his care,
His wallet with bread and chese, so then he stood 155
(A hooke in his hande) in the midst of his good.⁷
Saue that he bosted to haue experience
Of worldly thinges, by practise and science,
Him selfe he called Cornix by his name.
The other shepheard was like vnto the same, 160
Saue one that he had liued all his dayes⁸
In keping his flocke,⁹ and sene no farther wayes.
Yet was he to sight a stoute and lustie freake,¹⁰
And as he bosted he borne was in the peake.¹¹
Coridon by name his neighbours did him call, 165
Him selfe counted the stoutest of them all.
This Coridon sware and saide to Cornix sure
That he no longer would there that life endure
In wretched labour and still in pouertie,
But to the Citie he saide that he would hye,¹² 170
Or els to the Court, and there with some abide
Till time that fortune would better life prouide.
By which mocion Cornix sheweth playnly
Of Court and Courtiers the care and misery.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

The First Egloge of the miseries and maners of
the Court and Courtiers.

Coridon first speaketh.

FOrsooth frende Cornix nought can my heart make 175
light¹

When I remember the stormes of yester night,
The thunder & lightning, the tempest & the hayle
Hath playnely wasted our profite and auayle,
The fearefull thunder with greeuous clap and sounde
Our Corne hath beaten downe flat vnto the grounde, 180
With tempest after and violence of rayne
That it as I doubt shall neuer rise agayne.

The hayle hath beaten our shepe within the folde,
That all be febled aswell the yong as olde,²
Our milke is turned and waxen³ pale and soure, 185
The storme and tempest vpon our couches poure,
Our flocke and fieldes is all our whole riches,
Which still is subiect to suche vnhappines:

For after that we haue done both cost and payne,
One sodeyn tempest destroyeth all agayne. 190

Then farewel welfare, worsechance we[n]ede* not feare¹
Saue onely to sucke our clawes with the Beare.

The Citizens haue great treasour sikerly⁵

In cofers closed auoyde of ieopardie,
Their coynes couched faste vnder locke and key, 195

From place to place they may the same conuay
When they of the theues perceiue the din and sounde:

But still must our corne remayne vpon the grounde,
Abiding stormes, hayle, thunder and tempest,
Till that it be for sikle ripe and prest. 200

As for their riches no thunder, frost nor hayle,
No storme nor tempest can hurt or disauayle.

Suche carefull chaunces and such aduersitie
Us alway kepeth in wretched pouertie.

* Cawood 'dede.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Cornix answereth.

O Coridon my mate I sweare so haue I blis, 205
Thou playnly speakest like as the matter is,
But as for my parte my minde and wit is blinde
To knowe who gideth all wether storme and winde,
But this thing I knowe, but yet not parfitely,
Yet bolde dare I be to speake to thee playnly, 210
For if that I spake it in some audience
Some men would maligne and take it for offence,
If God (as men say) doth heauen and earth sustayne,
Then why doth not he regarde our dayly payne?
Our greuous labour he iustly might deuide, 215
And for vs wretches some better life prouide.
Some nought doth labour and liueth pleasauntly,
Though all his reason to vices he apply:
But see with what sweat, what busines and payne
Our simple liuing we labour to obtayne: 220
Beholde what illes the shepheardes must endure
For flocke and housholde bare liuing to procure,
In feruent heate we must intende our folde,
And in the winter almost we frese for colde:
Upon the harde ground or on the flintes browne 225
We slepe, when other lye on a bed of downe.
A thousande illes of daunger and sicknesse,
With diuers sores our beastes doth oppresse:¹
A thousande perils and mo if they were tolde
Dayly and nightly inuadeth our poore folde. 230
Sometime the wolfe our beastes doth deuour,
And sometime the thefe awayteth for his hour:
Or els the souldiour much worse then wolfe or thefe
Agaynst all our flocke inrageth with mischefe.
See howe my handes are with many a gall, 235
And stiffe as a borde by worke continuall,
My face all scoruy,² my colour pale and wan,
My head all parched and blacke as any pan,
My beard like bristles, so that that a pliant leeke
With a little helpe³ may thrust me throw the cheeke, 240

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And as a stockfishe¹ wrinkled is my skinne,
Suche is the profite that I by labour winne.
But this my labour should greue me much the lesse
If rest or pleasure came of my businesse:
But one sodayne storme of thunder, hayle or rayne, 245
Agayne all wasteth wherfore I toke this payne.
This is the rewarde, the dede and worke diuine,
Unto whose aulters poore shepheardes incline:
To offer tapers and candles we are fayne,
And for our offering, lo, this we haue agayne. 250
I can not declare what pitie and mercy
Wrappeth vs wretches in this harde misery,
But this wot I well,² it is both right and mede,
There moste to succour where doth appeare most nede.

Coridon

Ho there frende Cornix, thou wadest nowe to farre, 255
Thy selfe forgetting thou leapest ouer the barre:
Smal is my knowledge, thou many a thing hast sene,
Yet out of the way forsoth I see thee clene.
The king of heauen is mercifull and iust,
And them all helpeth which put in him their trust: 260
When we deserue he striketh not alway,
This in the pulpit I hear[d]³* syr Peter⁴ say,
Yet ofte he striketh when man is obstinate,
And by no meanes will his misliuing hate:
So all these plagcs and inconuenience 265
Fal[l]s⁵† on vs wretches onely for our offence.

Cornix

For what offence? thou art mad so to say,
Were we of that sorte which did our Lorde betray,
Or that consented our Lorde to crucify?
We neuer were suche thy selfe can testifie. 270

Coridon

Nowe trust me truly⁶ though thou be neuer so wroth,
I nought shall abashe to thee to say the troth:
Though we shepheardes be out of company,

* Cawood: 'heart'; † 'Fales.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Without occasion we liue vnhappely,
Seke well among vs and playnly thou shalt see 275
Theft, brauling, malice, discorde, iniquitie,
Wrath, lechery, leasing,¹ enuy and couetise,
And briefly to speake, truly we want no vice.

Cornix

What, nay man pardie all we do not offence,
Yet all haue sorowe without all difference, 280
Say nought man but truth, do God nothing deserue
[W]ithout* difference, yet be all like to sterue.²

Coridon

What ceasse man for shame thou art of reason scant,
The wise now must learne wit of the ignoraunt:
I haue no knowledge saue onely of my tarre, 285
Yet this I perceauē, man should not seke to farre
In Gods workes, he all doth for the best.

If thou findest here no easement, wealth ne rest,
What then, seke farther, for playnely so shall I,
In some place fortune beholdeth merily. 290

I bide no longer by saint Thomas of Kent
In suche bare places where³ euery day is Lent,
The Frers haue store euery day of the weke,⁴
But euery day our meat is for to seke.

I nought haue to bye, begge can I not for shame 295
Except that I were blinde, impotent or lame:

If suche a gadling as I should begge or craue
Of me suche mercy and pitie would men haue,
That they for almes (I sweare by Gods sockes)
In euery towne would make [m]e† scoure the stockes: 300

That can one Drome by many assayes tell,
With that ill science I purpose not to mell,
Here nothing I haue wherfore I nede to care,
Nowe Cornix adue streight forwardē will I fare.

Cornix

Streight forwardē man, hei Benedicite, 305
All other people haue as great care as we,

* Cawood: 'without'; † 'we.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Onely bare nede is all our payne and wo,
But these Towne dwellers haue many paynes mo,
Our payne is pleasour nere in comparison
Of their great illes and sore vexation. 310
Of all suche thinges haue I experience,
Then mayst thou surely geue to me credence:
Whither wilt thou go to liue more quietly?
Man all the worlde is full of misery.

Coridon

What man, the court is freshe and full of ease, 315
I can drawe a bowe, I shall some lorde there please,
Thy selfe can report howe I can birdes kill,
Mine arowe toucheth of them nothing but the bill,
I hurte no fleshe, nor bruse no parte at all,
Were not my shoting our liuing were but small: 320
Lo here a sparowe, lo here be thrushes four,
All these I killed¹ this day within an hour.
I can daunce the raye,² I can both pipe and sing,
If I were mery I can both hurle³ and fling,
I runne, I wrastle, I can well throwe the barre,⁴ 325
No shepheard throweth the axeltrie⁵ so farre,
If I were mery I could well leape and spring,
I were a man mete to serue a prince or king.
Wherefore to the Court nowe will I get me playne,
Aduē swete Cornix, farewell yet once agayne, 330
Prouide for thy selfe, so shall I do for me.

Cornix

Do way⁶ Coridon, for Gods loue let be,
Nought els is the Court but euen the deuils mouth,
And place most carefull⁷ of East, west, north, & south:
For thy longe seruice there nede shall be thy hyre, 335
Out of the water thou leapest into the fyre.
We liue in sorowe I will it not deny,
But in the Court is the well of misery.

Coridon

What man, thou seest, and in likewise see I,
That lusty courtiers go alway iolily, 340

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

They haue no labour yet are they wel besene,
Barded and garded¹ in pleasaunt white and grene,
They do nought els but reuell, slepe and drinke,
But on his foldes the poore shepheard muste thinke. A ij
They rest, we labour, they gayly decked be 345
While we go ragged in² nede and pouertie,
Their colour lustie, they bide no storme nor shours,
They haue the pleasoures, but all the paynes are³ ours.
They haue all thinges, but we wretches haue nought,
They sing, they daunce, while we sore sigh for thought. 350
But what bringeth them to this prosperitie,
Strength, courage, frendes, crafte and audacitie.
If I had frendes I haue all thing beside,
Which might in court a rowme for me prouide.
But sith courtiers haue this life continually, 355
They haue all pleasour and nought of misery.

Cornix

Not so Coridon, oft vnder yelowe lockes
Be hid foule scabbes and fearefull French pockes,
Their reuilde⁴ shirtes of cloth white, soft and thin
Ofte time cloketh a foule and scoruy skin. 360
And where we labour in workes profitable,
They labour sorer in worke abhominable.
They may haue shame to iet⁵ so vp and downe
When they be debtours for dublet, hose and gowne,
And in the tauerne remayne they last for lag, 365
When neuer a crosse⁶ is in their courtly bag.
They crake,⁷ they boste, and vaunt as they were wood,⁸
And moste when they sit in midst of others good.
Nought haue they fooles⁹ but care and misery,
Who hath it proued all courting shall defy. 370

Coridon

Mary Syr by this I see by¹⁰ experience
That thou in the Court has kept some residence.

Cornix

Remembring of court the payne continuall
I thinke these paynes but easy, short and small:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So the remembraunce of greuous care and payne 375
Causeth me gladly this hardnes to sustayne.
Who that hath liued in court I thee assure,
In stede of pleasour may this our life endure.
Our nede is eased with pleasaunt libertie,
There care is heaped with harde captiuitie, 380
I thought our liuing care and vexation
Before of the court or thou made mention.

Coridon

If the court be suche as thou dost playnly tell
I thinke it folly with it to deale or mell,
Better is freewill with nede and pouertie 385
Then in the court¹ with harde captiuitie:
But tell me Cornix I pray thee instantly,
Howe knowest thou first this geare so perfutely.

Cornix

While I in youth in Croidon towne did dwell
Often to the court I coles brought to sell,² 390
And then I learned and noted parfutely
Of court and courtiers the care and misery.
For I lurked and none regarded me,
Till I had knowledge of hye and lowe degree,
What was their maner, behauour and vsage, 395
The more I taried more sawe I of outrage.

Coridon

Then farewell courting, I see thou countest best
Here to remayne in simple welth and rest,
But in the meane season I pray thee hartily
Declare me all whole the courtly misery. 400
Beholde our wethers [l]ye^{3*} chewing of the cud,
Here is no perill of water dike nor mud,
Slouth loueth slombring, muche slepe is reprouable,
But mery talking is greatly comfortable.
Here is colde shadowe, here is a cleare fountayne, 405
When wordes greueth drinke and begin agayne,
For longe time passed I haue heard of thy lore,

* Cawood: 'iye.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Which thing me moueth to heare thee talke the more.
Begin and shewe me the courtes wretchednesse,
So I perchaunce shall set therby the lesse: 410
And where longe talking oft greueth many a man
I shall thee furnishe with wordes nowe and then.
What say on Cornix, why art thou nowe so still?
Thy wit and reason was wont to be at will.

Cornix

Fayne would I common for pleasour and pastime, 415
But truth is counted most greeuous fault and crime,¹
And some might me heare which by their wordes soure
Might bring me in court to greeuous displeasure,
Because I shall proue all them that court doth haunt
Miserable fooles, mad men and ignoraunt. 420
Therefore Coridon among the bowes pryde
If there lurke any lay, Sterling, Thrush or Pye
To note my wordes, and chat them foorth agayne,
Wherby I might winne displeasure, losse or payne.

Coridon

Losse, Gods dominus, to lose thou haste no good, 425
Saue hooke and cokers, thy botle and thy hood,
Thy hood all ragged can kepe no body drye,
Many hath as good, though none can them espye:
He hath small reason that hath a hood more fine,
And would for malice berob thee here of thine, 430
As for displeasure I warrant thee also.
Thou shalt for princes great ease and pleasour do,
For many vpon them do dayly craue and call
To be in seruice, which are not mete at all:
To be in the² court they labour so gladly 435
Because they knowe not therof the misery.
Whom to receiue it is not profitable,
And to despise them it is not honorable.
If thou suche constrayne to leaue of their own minde,
Thou doest to princes a very pleasour kinde, 440
And other fooles shall take thy tale in sporte,
And neuerthesse shall to the court resorte.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then let not Cornix, playnly to say the troth,
Let scabbed clawe, and gyly men be wroth,
Better is for truth suffer paynes harde, 445
Then for false flattering to haue a great rewarde.

Cornix

Thou saiest but reason, I laude thee by saint Iohn,
Then boldly demaunde I pray thee Coridon
Of suche matters as to the court belonge,
And I shall answeare, dene¹ if it be wrong 450
That I haue learned by practise and science,
I shall as I may geue thee intelligence.

Coridon

The court as thou sayest is false and deceyuable,
Then tell me wherfore that men most honorable
Therin remayning abideth care and payne, 455
And yet by their will they will not foorth agayne.

Cornix

Many thinges be which moueth² people blinde
To ren to the court with feruent heart and minde,
But of all thinges this specially is one,
The hope of honour called ambition. 460
Right so Minalcas³ did luste of honour call,
And as he counted,⁴ ambition is egall
Unto that vertue which men call charitie.
Charitie suffreth all harde aduersitie,
All payne and labour, and all vexation: 465
And euen as muche suffreth ambition.
For worldly wretches in honour to excell
Force not to labour downe to the pit of hell,
Lo here chiefe cause why men to court resorte,
But once in the court when they haue had comfort, 470
Suche is of mankinde the blinde calamitie,
That in one state if they longe time haue be,

Plurima sunt, mi Iohannes, quæ nos cogunt perse-
uerare; sed nulla est ratio prior, quam ambitio, quæ
tanquam æmula Charitatis, omnia fert onera, quamuis

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

A life there liuing but vile and full of shame,
Yet by no meane¹ can they despise the same.
So who that in youth hath vsed courtes rage, 475
They finde no meane² to leaue the same in age,
And to win laudes and prayse of the commontie
In no harde labour thinke they difficultie:
But if men hunted for God and hye glory,
As they hunt dayly for honour transitory, 480
Right fewe or none would to the court apply,
There to be tangled with care and misery.
But to the court if thou hast thine intent
Because Prelates and wise men it frequent,
Heare what the shepheard of Nazareth doth say, 485
As I heard Faustus declare vpon a day:
Upon the hye chayre and seat of Moyses
Sitte the olde Scribes and sect of Pharises,³
Liue as they teach, but liue not as they do.
And thus in the court man must behaue him so. 490
His life refourming like as suche ought to liue,
Not by example which they to other giue.

Coridon

These be hye¹ matters and farre beyonde my wit,
If suche be the court what man should⁵ mel⁶ with it?
Yet I assure thee before this I haue sene 495
That worthy shephardes long in the court haue bene.

grauissima, vt honoribus seculi, ac popularibus laudibus efferatur. Quod si humiles essemus, & animam potius lucrari, quam vanā venari gloriam studeremus, haud multi profecto in hæc taedia sese reciperent.

Ad eos igitur, qui propterea sequi Reges volunt, quia Prælatos & doctos in Curijs esse conspiciunt, Saluatoris nostri Iesu vocem obijciam: Super Cathedrā Moisi sederunt Scribæ & Pharisei, quæ dicunt facite, secundum opera eorum nolite facere. Non igitur, quod insignes viri, ac Magistri vite, faciunt, sed quod facere debent, imitari oportet.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Cornix

All that I graunt thee, but aske and thou shalt finde
That suche in the court abode agaynst their mind,
As the riche shepheard¹ which woned² in Mortlake.

Coridon

O Cornix, Cornix, fele howe my hart doth quake, 500
On him when I thinke my heart is full of payne,
Would God that we could get him to liue agayne.
What time he liued some did him blame³ iwis,⁴
Which since he died do⁵ him sore lacke and mis.
He passed Codrus, he passed Minalcas, 505
He passed Mopsus and also Lisidas,⁶
None other shepheard might with that man compare,
In during his life we neded not to care,
But euer sith time that he was dead and gone
We suffer wrongs, defender haue we none, 510
He was the patron of thinges pastorall,
His face and fauour forget I neuer shall.
Whyle I was yong he came vnto our cotage,⁷
Then was my father Amintas farre in age,
But the same shepheard gaue him both cloth and golde, 515
O Cornix, the yong be much vnlike the olde.

Cornix

Yes since his dayes a cocke was in the fen,
I knowe his voyce among a thousande men,
He taught, he preached, he mended euery wrong,⁸
But Coridon alas no good thing bideth long. 520
He all was a cocke,⁹ he wakened vs from slepe,
And while we slumbred he did our foldes kepe,
No cur, no foxes,¹⁰ nor butchers dogges wood¹¹
Coulde hurte our fouldes, his watching was so good,
The hungry wolues which that time did abounde 525
What time he crowed abashed at the sounde.
This cocke was no more abashed of the foxe
Then is a lion abashed of an oxe.
When he went faded the floure of all the fen,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

I boldly dare sweare this cocke trode neuer hen. 530
This was a father of thinges pastorall,
And that well sheweth his Church cathedrall,
There was I lately about the middest of May,
Coridon his Church is twenty sith more gay
Then all the Churches betwene the same and Kent, 535
There sawe I his tome and Chapell excellent.
I thought fīue houres but euen a little while,
Saint Iohn the virgin me thought did on me smile,
Our parishe Church is but a dongeon
To that gay Churche in comparison.' 540
If the people were as pleasaunt as the place
Then were it paradise of pleasour and solace,
Then might I truely right well finde in my heart
There still to abide and neuer to departe.
But since that this cocke by death hath left his song 545
Trust me Coridon there many a thing is wrong,
When I sawe his figure lye in the Chapell side,
Like death² for weping I might no longer bide.
Lo all good thinges so sone away doth glide,
That no man liketh to long doth rest and abide. 550
When the good is gone (my mate this is the case)
Seldome the better reentreth in the place.

Coridon

Thou saiest truth Cornix I make to God auowe,
But hay mate Cornix see where be we nowe?
Farre from the matter where³ we first began, 555
Begin where we left I pray thee if thou can.

Cornix

That shall I lightly: thou saydest that a sorte
Of goode olde shepheardes did to the court resorte,
But suche as be good be there agaynst their will,
For truely in court they finde lesse good then ill, 560
To see muche amis to them it is great payne,
When for their wordes none will his vice refrayne,
Then get they but scorne and indignation,
And for their good mindes payne and vexation.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

*Coridon*¹

I pray thee Cornix procede, tell by and by.² 565

Cornix

Of court and courtiers the payne and misery?
That were a longe matter and very harde to do.

Coridon

This is best remedy, take longer time therto.
Here is a pleasaunt³ shadowe, here is a pleasaunt coole,
Take banke and floures for cushen and for stoole. 570

Cornix

Then lay downe thy hooke, geue me the⁴ bottle nere,
With often washing the throte and voyce is clere.

Coridon

Lo here the bottle, drinke suche as is therein,
Drinke better, and then in the name of God begin,

Cornix

A syr well drawen, and that with little payne, 575
Then turne we our⁵ speche vnto the court agayne.
Who will to the court first let him thinke before
Whether he may suffer labour and paynes sore,
Both hunger and thirst, iniury and wrong,
For these shall he finde the rude courtiers among: 580
And more after these, yet let him thinke agayne
Whether in the court he may that thing obtayne
Which he desireth, me thinke the contrary,
Men would finde honour, there finde they misery.
Thus all be fooles which willingly there dwell, 585
Coridon the court is the bayting place of hell. A iij

Expendat prius seipsum, qui se dicare vult Regibus,
an tolerare labores, famen perpeti, sitim sufferre, con-
tumeliasque valeat sustinere. Deinde prospiciat dili-
genter, vtrum ex Curia consequi possit, quod suus
desiderat animus. Mihi & angustiae apud Principes in-
finitae, ac intolerabiles esse videntur, & quae homines
optant, illic nullatenus inueniri:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

That is hardly saide man, by the roode of rest.

Cornix

I graunt it is harde, but to say truth is best,
But yet shall I proue my saying veritable,
Aduert my wordes, see if I be culpable. 590
Unto our purpose: by diuers wayes three
Men may be fooles, I shall them count to thee:
They all be fooles which set their thought and minde
That thing for to seke which they shall neuer finde.
And they be fooles which seke thing with delite, 595
Which if they finde is harme and no profite.
And he is a foole, a sottē,¹ and a geke² also,
Which choseth a place vnto the same to go,
And where diuers wayes lead thither directly
He choseth the worst and most of ieopardie: 600
As if diuers wayes laye vnto Islington,
To Stow on the Wold, Quaueneth³ or Trompington,⁴
To Douer, Durham, to Barwike or Exeter,
To Grantham, Totnes, Bristow or good Manchester⁵
To Roan, Paris, to Lions or Floraunce. 605

Coridon

(What ho man abide, what already in Fraunce.
Lo, a fayre iourney and shortly ended to,
With all these townes what thing haue we to do?

quo fit, vt verā Patris sententiam arbitrer, de qua nunc
transigemus.⁶

Stulti, quoad propositum nostrum, tribus modis
dicuntur homines. Stultus est, qui quæritat, quod
nequit inuenire. Stultus & qui quærit, quod nocet
inuentum. Stultus quoque & ille est, qui fine proposito,
ad quem tendit, cum plures habeat calles, deterio-
rem deligit, & periculosiorem. Vt si Roman petiturus, cum
duæ sibi pateant viæ; altera brevis atque segura; altera
longior, plena latronibus; pergere vltimam velit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Cornix

By God man know thou that I haue had to do
In all these townes and yet in many mo, 610
To see the worlde in youth me thought was best,
And after in age to geue my selfe to rest.

Coridon

Thou might haue brought one and set by our village.

Cornix

What man I might not for lacke of cariage.
To cary mine owne selfe was all that euer I might, 615
And sometime for ease my sachell made I light.

Coridon

To our first matter we better must entende,
Els in twelue monthes¹ we scant shall make an ende.

Cornix

True saide, Coridon, that can I not deny,²
But thine owne selfe did leade me from the way. 620
Unto these townes nowe to returne agayne),
To any of them all if there lay wayes twayne,
The one sure and short and leading directly,
The other way longer and full of ieopardie,
That foole were worth³ a bable and a hood, 625
Which would chose the worst, perceiuing wel the good.
One of these follies or all oppresse that sorte
Which not constrayned vnto the court resorte,⁴
Eyther that they search which they may not attayne,
Or that which gotten⁵ shall do them hurt and payne, 630
Or of two wayes they vse to leaue the best,
For on no goodnes doth their desires rest.

Coridon

What is the desire and purpose principall,

Curiales igitur homines, aut primam stulticiam inci-
dunt, aut alteram, aut tertiam. Aut enim quod assequi
nequeunt inuestigant; aut quod inuentum detrimento
sit, quærunt; aut semitam peiorem deligunt.⁶

Mihi videntur omnes, qui Regum vel Principum

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Chiefly frequented among these Courtiers all,
And for what rewarde take they suche busines. 635

Cornix

Of that coude Codrus the truth to expresse,
And I shall tell thee as true as the Gospell,
After like maner as I heard Codrus tell.
Who that remayne by king or princes side
Endure great paynes fieve' thinges to prouide, 640
Who that in court may one of them purchase
Thinketh to haue wonne a pleasaunt gift of grace.
The first is honour, I tolde thee of this same,
The seconde is laude, hie name or worldly fame,
The thirde is power might or authoritie, 645
The fourth is riches chiefe roote of dignitie,
The fifte is pleasour, lust and voluptuousnes,
For these do men sue vnto the court doubtles.
Beside these be some, but they be sowed thin,
Resorting to court there soules for to win, 650
So muche more merit supposing to obtayne,
Howe much more they bide of displeasour & payne,
Of these all shall be my communication.

Coridon

Nowe speake on Cornix with Gods benison.

Cornix

All these shall I proue by playne experience 655
Not onely witles and voyde of sapience,

latera stipant, aut HONORES quærere, Famamque
seculi; aut POTENTIAM, aut DIVITIAS, aut
VOLVPTATES; Nec inficias eo, nonnullos esse, qui
se apud Principes LVCRARI ANIMAS arbitrentur,
vt meritum tanto maius nanciscantur, quanto cum
maiore periculo militauerint. De his igitur QVINQVE
generibus Hominum, dicendum est nobis, quos tantu
distare vt sapientes sint ostendemus, vt facile quiuis
eosdem deliros, amentes, insanos ac stultissimos queat
cognoscere.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But also fooles, men ignoraunt and wood,
And of all fooles moste worthy of a hood.
But or I begin I take thee to witnes,
That no prince I blame deliting in goodnes: 660
But onely to speake by protestation,
To say nought but truth is no detraction.
Agaynst our soueraigne nothing do I reply,
In whom all vertue doth spring abundantly:
And other princes and lordes great or small, 665
While they flee vices I blame none of them all.
And though in talking often times¹ call I must
Some princes subiect to folly, sinne, and lust,
I would not haue that ascribed to them all.
I am not so fonde, so dull nor rusticall, 670
But that I perceyue that many princes be,
Whose life and vertue is after their degree.
With feare of God and dread of payne doubtles
They slake those vices which riseth on nobles.
And where ofte vices spring moste in hie degree, 675
By men of riches, wealth, lust and libertie,
Because that no man dare blame them for offence,
Yet some noble men so gide them by prudence,
Namely assisted by the supernall grace,
So that wit ruleth and lustes haue no place. 680
Among Gentiles suche princes fi[n]de* I can,
As Augustus, Titus, and eke Uespasian,

Prius tamen, quam hoc aggrediar, omnes oratos volo, ne me quempiam Principum carpere censeant, aut quouis pacto, serenissimo diuoque Principi meo, Frederico Cæsari, detrahere. Nam etsi dicturus inter disputandum fuerim, viciosos Principes esse, et libidinum ac stulticię, seruos; non tamen id omnibus ascripserim. Nec enim me latet, inueniri nonnullos, virtutum ac sanctionis cultores, qui à Principatu vicia, diuino quodam munere separent. Quemadmodum boni apud Gentiles Principes, Augustus, Vespasianus, Titus,

* Cawood: fihde

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Traian, Antonius with many other mo,
 And Christen princes many one also.
 As rich Constantine and olde Archadius, 685
 Theodocius, Charles, and Honorius,
 Yea and holy Henry lying at Windesore,
 Of such could I count mo then a twentie score.
 Beside noble Henry which now departed late,
 Spectacle of vertue to euery hye estate, 690
 The patrone of peace and primate of prudence,¹
 Which on Gods Church hath done so great expence.
 Of all these princes the mercy and pitie,
 The loue of concorde, iustice and equitie,
 The purenes of life and giftes liberal, 695
 Not lesse vertuous² then the said princes all.
 And Henry the eyght moste hye and triumphant,
 No gifte of vertue nor manlines doth want,
 Mine humble spech and language pastorall
 If it were able should write his actes all: 700
 But while I ought speake of courtly misery,
 Him with all suche I except³ vtterly.
 But what other princes commonly frequent
 As true as I can to shewe is mine intent,

Traianus, & Antoninus, pij sunt habiti: & apud
 Christianos, Constantinus, Arcadius, Honorius, Theo-
 dosius, Carolus Magnus, &, quem Bambergæ vene-
 ratur, Henricus Sanctus: in quibus si vel pietatem,
 vel mansuetudinem, vel pacis amorem, vel iusticiæ
 Zelum, vel Religionis affectum requiris, Fridericum
 nostrum nulla in re minorem inuenies. Tantum-
 que abest, vt meis sibi scriptis velim detractum, vt
 eius laudes illustrare, & versibus, quoad possim, &
 oratione soluta, decreuerim. Nec me nunc eius Curia
 detineret, nisi sua me bonitas allexisset. Sed me,
 quanta sit Curialium infelicitas, ostensurum, non quid
 ipse, & alij pauci, quos æquus amauit Iupiter, sed
 quid communiter Principes agant, referre oportuit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But if I should say that all the misery,
Which I shall after rehearse and specify,
Were¹ in the court of our moste noble kinge,
I should fayle truth, and playnly make leasing,
And if that I sayde that in it were no vice,
So should I lye, in² like maner wise. 705
As for my part, I blame no man at all,
Saue such as to vice be subiect, bounde and thrall.
For among all men this wise standeth the case,
That more ill then good doth growe in euery place.

Coridon

Right well excused, I thought not erst sithene,³ 715
That simple Cornix had halfe this subiltie.
But nowe appereth the very truth certayne,
That men of worship haue not best wit and brayne.
Nowe tell howe Courtiers which gape for honour,
In stede of honour finde paynes sharpe and sour. 720

Cornix

All they which suffer in court labour and payne,
Thereby supposing true honour to obtayne,
It much abuseth,⁴ my wordes nor doctrine
Be much vnable to geue them medicine.
For Elebor⁵ the olde with all his salues pure 725

Quod si omnia, quæ inferius mala recensentur, in nostri
Principis inueniri Curia dixerim, apertè mentiar; nec
minus mentiar, si nihil illorum hîc esse contenderim.
Necego quenquam momorderim: Quia sic est hominum
vita, vt plus mali vbique quam boni reperiatur.

Nostra intentio est, fatuos esse, qui Principibus ad-
hærent, disputando monstrare. Iam igitur illos aggre-
diamur, qui tanquam appetentes HONOREM Princi-
pibus seruiunt. Aduersus quos cum Iuuenali libet
exclamare; O Medici mediam pertundite venam.
Delirant enim, qui propter honorem Principibus
famulantur: ad quorum purgandas mentes, non meis
scriptis, sed elleboro potius esset opus.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Their wilfull foly could scantly helpe and cure.
What man would thinke that true honour profounde
In princes halles or courtes may be founde.
There none hath honour by vertue and cunning,
By maners, wisdomes, sadnes nor good liuing. 730
But who hath power, hye rowmes or riches,
He hath moste honour and laude of more and lesse.
For what poore man, a playne and simple soule,
Though he were holy as euer was Saint Powle,
Haste thou euer seene exalted of a king 735
For all his maners and vertuous liuing.
These be the wordes of Shepherde Siluius,¹
Which after was pope,² and called was Pius.

Coridon

What yes man perdie right many haue bene sene,
Which in poore houses borne and brought vp haue bene 740
That from lowe rowmes and carefull pouertie
Be nowe exalted to greatest dignitie.

Cornix

Such is the pleasure of princes, to promote
Such vnto honour, which scant be worth a grote.
But whom promote they? geue credence vnto me, 745
Such as in maners to them moste likest be,
And in what maners? in beastly lechery,
In couetise, ire, or in vile gluttony,

Quis enim in aulis Principum verum honorem dixerit
inueniri? Dantur honores in Curijs, non secundum mores
atque virtutes, sed vt quisque ditior est, atque potentior, eo
magis honoratur. Nam quem vnquam pauperem, tametsi
præstanti virtute præditum, Regum aliquis sublimauit?

Audio quod objcis: fuerunt nonnulli, dicis, obscuro
nati loco, atque inopes quōdam, qui nunc omnibus
sunt prælati; Sic enim Principes voluerunt. Sed quos,
oro, sic Prælatos ais? nempe quos suis moribus con-
formes inuenerunt. quibus moribus? auariciæ, libi-
dini, luxuriæ, crapulæ, crudelitati. Sic est sane.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In hastie murther and other crueltie:
Beleue me Coridon, I say but veritie: 750
A couetous prince hath him moste acceptable,
Which gathereth coyne by meanes disceyuable:
As false accusing, and wrong extortion,
Selling of Iustice, fraude and oppression,
A lecherous prince hath him best in conceyte, 755
Which can by craftes his place and time best wayt,¹
Uirgins and wiues moste fayre and amiable
To bring to his bed for lust abhominable.
And a dronken prince hath him as derest mate,
Which moste can surfet, moste reuell and drinke late. 760
And vnto a prince which loueth crueltie,
Chiefely in fauour and conceyte is he,
Which moste deliteth in shedding mans bloud,
Fewe vicious princes promote such as be good.
Nowe is accepted of men of hye degree, 765
Nor set in honour from humble pouertie.
Except he done² some dede so great of fame,
That all the world may wonder at the same.
But this same honour is neither true nor stable,
Which groweth of roote so ill and detestable. 770
For very honour, and true or perfect glory
Commeth of actes of laudable memory:
In supportation of right and equitie,
Or in defending the Church and commontie.

Placet auaro Regi, qui pecunias vndecunque refert.
Gratus est libidinoso, qui virgines atque maritatas sibi
conciliat. Carus est ebrio, qui combibit. Crudeli iocun-
dus est, qui sanguinem quam multum effundit humanum.
Nemo acceptus est, nemoque ex paruo statu p̄fertur
alijs, nisi magno aliquo facinore sese Principi concilia-
uerit. At hic non est verus honor & stabilis, qui ex
radice venit non bona. Vera gloria, vt inquit Cicero, est
illustris ac puagata multorum & magnorum, vel in suos

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Or other actes common or priuate 775
Which sound to worship, these make a true estate.
But such true honour fewe princes do deserue,
And no more do they which in the court them serue:
Sith all almoste be of misgouernaunce,
For no good do they except it be by chaunce. 780

Coridon

Yet at the least way such men reputed be¹
Men of great honour amonge the commontie:
For while such walke in court or in strete,
Eche man inclineth which them doth see or mete.
Off goeth the bonet, a becke at euery worde, 785
Eche man must needes geue place vnto my Lorde.
After his degree, birth or promotion,
Suche of the commons haue salutation.
And shortly to say, men do them more honour,
Then to the figure of Christ our Sauour. 790

Cornix

It is as thou sayest forsooth my Coridon,
But harke what they say at last when men be gone,
Then they salute them in the deuils name,
And pray vnto God that they may dye with shame.
And so doth many by torment and dolour 795
When fikle fortune liketh on them to loure.
But such as do stoupe to them before their face
Geueth them a mocke when they be out of place:
And one doth whisper soft in anothers² eare,
And sayth, this tiran is feller then a bere. 800

ciues, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus hominum, fama
meritorum; quam nec Principes assequuntur, nec qui
seruiunt eis: Cum vicijs omnes fere sint dediti, nec
bonum aliquid agant, nisi fortuito.

At transeunti per vrbem tibi inclinabunt homines:
denudabunt capita: cedent loco: salutem dicent: manus
osculabuntur. Ita est certe.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

Why, and feare they no more for to say thus?

Cornix

No, but harke man what sayth the good pope Siluius¹

Lo, this same is he which by his bad counsell

Causeth our prince to be to vs to fell.

This same is he which rayseth deme² and taxe,³ 805

This same is he which strayned men on rackes.

This same is he which causeth all this warre,

This same is he which all our wealth doth marre.

This is of Commons the very deadly mall,⁴

Which with these charges thus doth oppresse vs all. 810

Who him displeaseth he beateth all to dust,

This same is he which killeth whom him lust,

That all the deuils of hell him hence cary,

That we no longer endure his tyranny.

This is the honour and all the reuerence 815

Geuen vnto them when they be from presence.

But in such honour who euer hath delite,

Which is fraudfull, so faynt and vnperfit.

I am not afeard to call him mad and blinde,

And a very foole, or els a sot of kinde. 820

Coridon

Cornix my frende, thou speakest nowe to playne,⁵

I feare least this gere⁶ shall turne vs vnto payne

At vbi transieris, digitos retrotendent, subsannabunt-
que tibi. Et ille est, inquiet, qui Principem nostrum
seducit; qui bellum suadet; qui vectigalia auget, qui
onera nobis importabilia cumulari facit; & etiam, qui
verso pollice, quos vult, ex nobis occidit: quem Dij
Deæque omnes perdant, ne sub eius tyrannide diutius
simus.

Huiusmodi est honor Curialium, qui si te, quis-
quis es, oblectat, non verebor te stultum atque insanum
affirmare, qui oblectationes tuas in re fallaci, varia, atque
omnino falsa, reponas.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

If any man be nere, be still a while and harke.

Cornix

I feare not at all nowe I am set on warke:

Beside this (Coridon) in court moste part doth dwell 825

Flatterers and lyers, curriers of fassell,¹

Iugglers and disers, and such a shamefull rable

Which for a dinner laude men nothing laudable.

But men circumspect which be discrete and wise,

Doth such vayne laudes vtterly despise. A iiij 830

For truely no laude is named good nor true,

Except it proceede of men which loue vertue.

A ribaudes blame is commendation,

Such vse to slaunder good conuersation.

But suche they commende as be to them semblable, 835

So their dispraying to thee is profitable.

Coridon

Nowe truely my heart is eased with the same,

For Godfrey Gormand lately did me blame.

And as for him selfe, though he be gay and stoute,

He hath nought but foly within and eke without. 840

To blowe in a bowle, and for to pill² a platter,

To girne,³ to braule, to counterfayte, to flatter,

He hath no felowe betwene this and Croydon,

Saue the proude plowman (Gnato) of Chorlington.⁴

Because he alway maligneth against me, 845

It playne appereth our life doth not agree.

For if we liued both after one rate,

Then should I haue him to me a frendly mate.

But Cornix proceede, tell forth of dignitie.

Cornix

Often in my tale I hindred am by thee. 850

Ac Parasitorum vocibus, qui te cœnarum gratia
laudant, quantum tribui debeat, tu ipse nosti. Prætereo
histriones atque ioculatores, & totius vulgi laudes, quas
vir prudens pro nihilo reputabit: quia nulla est vera laus,
nisi à verè proueniat laudatis.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Such as for honour vnto the court resort,
Looke seldome times vpon the lower sort:
To the hyer sort for moste part they intende,
For still their desire is hyer to ascende.
And when none can make with them comparison, 855
Against their princes conspire they by treason.
Then when their purpose can not come well to frame,
Agayne they discende and that with vtter shame.
Coridon thou knowest right well what I meane,
We lately of this experience haue seene. 860
When men would ascende to rowmes honorable,
Euer is their minde and lust insaciabile.
What euer they haue, they count the same but small,
While ought is greater, nought can them please but all.
And once in Cambridge I heard a scoller say, 865
(One of the same which go in copes¹ gay)
That no man should fixe ende of felicitie
In worldly honour, hye rowme² or dignitie:
For it is a thing incertayne and vnstable,
Which man of him selfe to puruay is not able. 870
In another power this honour alway is,
Who moste it seeketh, of it doth often misse.
And who that serueth for honour and hye name,

Adde quod omnes Curia sequaces, non quibus
praesint, sed à quibus praecedantur inspiciunt, & altius
semper euolare nituntur. atque cum reliqui praeces-
serint, ipsis etiam Regibus incipiunt inuidere, quia
inexplebilis est humanae gloriae appetitus. Cui post-
quam te dedideris, semper illud Ciceronis in ore habe-
bis: Quicquid est, quamuis amplum sit, id certe parum
est, cum est aliquid amplius.

Est insuper Philosophorum sententia, ac praesertim
Aristotelis; In honoribus non esse finem ponendum,
quia & res incerta est, & in potestate alterius. Et qui
seruit honori, & huius seculi famae, necesse est, vt
multa faciat inuitus:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And in this world to get him noble fame,
Much payne abideth through cares and distresse. 875
And with many men he hath much busynes:
And oft must he rather the minde of men content,
Then do the pleasure of God omnipotent.
Then sith two honours of diuers sortes be,
One which is geuen of men of honestie. 880
The second honoure is of a multitude:
For very truth that man of wit is rude,
Which hunteth in court for the first honour,
The same to purchase by care and great labour.
As fortune honour no man can there obtayne, 885
Where neyther maners nor vertues do rayne.
The seconde honour is of commontie,
Who that requireth, yet more foolishe is he.
For he demaundeth a thing right perillous,
Unsure, vnstable and also vicious, 890
But both these sortes alway be vexed sore,
When they in honour see many them before,
And often times suche as moste vnworthy be.
For in court seldome is lauded honestie.
Thus who of honour and laude is couetous, 895
Unto him the court is moste contrarious.
And no where he findeth greater vexation,
Then folowing the court, suing ambition.
For who would ascende to honour principall,

Interdum plus hominibus, quam Deo, seruire cogitur.
Duo enim cum sint honores; alter virorum bonorum;
alter multitudinis; stultus est qui primum apud Regem
venatur; quia inueniri verus honor non potest, vbi
virtutes non regnant. Qui verò alterum, multò stultior
est; quia & rem perniciosam sequitur & viciosam, &
instabilem, & incertam. Atque hi quidem perpetuis
cruciatibus affliguntur, cum sibi præferri plurimos, &
sæpe indignissimos videant. Nec, qui bonorum est
avidus,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Findeth in the court moste care and payne of all. 900

Coridon

We haue ynough had of communication
As touching honour and commendation,
Or worldly praysing for rowmes and hye name:
And though more might be declared of the same.
What leaue some my mate for other on to brall, 905
It were ouermuch for vs to talke of all.

Nowe talke we of might or hye auctoritie,
Howe men for the same loue in the court to be.
Speede thee, for cloudes appere on euery side,
If any storme fall' we can not longer abide. 910

Cornix

As touching power, might or auctoritie:
Some thinke in the court in fauour great to be.²
To be with princes of power excellent,
Some fooles counteth a thing preeminent.
Or that men should him a kinges tutour call, 915
Much to commaund, but nought to do at all.
Both peace and battayle to order at his will,
To be of power both to do good and ill.

But many a thousande which haue such power sought,
Haue bene disceyued, and shortly come to nought. 920

As with one Nero named [C]laudus,*³

In so great fauour was one Seianus,

vsquam magis, quam in Curijs, angitur. Atque iam
satis de Honore sit dictum.

Nunc ad POTENTIAM eamus. Pulchrum videtur
apud Principem esse potentem, tutorem vocari Regis,
præcipere alijs, bellum indicare, pacem componere,
posse obesse & prodesse quampluribus. Sed multi
decepti sunt, dum posse apud Reges plurimum quæ-
siuerunt. Apud Tiberium, Neronem, Claudium, tam
potens Seianus fuit vt Imperatore apud Capreas cum

* Cawood: 'Elaudus.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That while this Nero was farre from his empire,
Seianus ruled the same at his desire,
So much that Seian had honour then in deede, 925
As of all the worlde counted the seconde head.
That if this Nero had died or his¹ houre,
This Seian truely should haue bene emperour.
But by one letter he after taken was,
In vtter dishonour deposed from his place. 930
Led for a spectacle streyght vnto Tiber banke,
And there beheded, such was his mede and thanke.
All his ymages in his honour erect
Were with great malice downe to the grounde deiect.
Thus all his power ended with care and shame, 935
Who that hath wisdomẽ will note and marke the same.
It is no matter nor thing of certayntie
With mighty princes of great power to be.
No state is febler, more weake and incertayne
Then such as semeth great with his souerayne. 940
He hath enuious maligners and ill will,
All out of fauour adiudgeth him for ill.
And all the housholde doth commonly him hate,
Which with the master is seruauant and nere mate.
And this in the world is seene moste commonly, 945
That all hye rowmes be subiect to enuy.
Such of all other be hated and suspect,
If they ought offende, it lightly is detect.
And from all defence² if they be clere and quite,

Rege Chaldeo sedente, solus hic Imperium administraret,
secundumque illum, totius orbis caput veneraretur. Et
quippe si ante ipsum oppressa Cæsaris senectus fuisset,
hunc vnum populus Augustum vocasset.

Sed nulla est apud Principes diuturna potestas; nulliusque status debilior, nullius incertior, nullius infirmior est, quam eius, qui apud Principem videtur esse potentior. Sunt æmuli multi; simultates, odia. Omnis potentia magnæ inuidiæ subiecta est.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then lye they in wayte them sharply¹ to bacbite. 950
Some for them study fraudes, disceyte and gile,
And talebearers walke and greue them otherwhile.
And like as thine eye is griued with a mote,
So princes fauour (though it be neuer so hote)
Is lightly griued, and that for small offence, 955
Though it were gotten with paynefull diligence.
And oft is it lost for none offence at all,
So much with princes may tonges false make fall.
So much talebearers by craftes forge can,
That the Emperour called Adrian 960
Slewe his olde frendes, and hated many one
By these talebearers and false detraction.
And many Princes or this haue done the same
By hasty credence, distayning sore their name.
And as in Croidon I heard the Collier² preache, 965
That holy scripture doth vs infourme and teache,
Howe Saule, Daud, and prudent Salomon
Commaunded to be slayne of such many one,
As hath bene with them in great authoritie.

Incidunt suspiciones, parantur insidiæ, perstrepunt
vndique delatores. Atque vt oculus parua festuca
turbatur, sic Principum gratia offensiuncula vel minima
cadit: Interdum etiam nullo crimine perditur. Tantum
apud Principes subdola lingua potest.

Apud Adrianum Imperatorem, delatorum voces adeo
valuerunt, vt amicos, quos ad summum prouexerat, post
hostium loco habuerit. Sed ad Seianum redeo. Visne
salutari sicut Seianus? & tam esse potens, vt ille fuit?
At hic vnica Principis Epistola captus est, per vrbem
vnco ductus ad spectaculum, & in Tibridis ripa trunca-
tus: Omnesque ipsius statuæ ex Capitolio deiectæ sunt.

Pellege sacras literas. Quot Saul? Quot Daud?
Quot Salomon ex his, qui apud se potentes erant, occidi
iusserunt?

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And dayly of such may we example see.¹ 970
Because Isaac in might did rise and stande,
False Abimelech him droue out of his lande.
And Alexander with his owne handes² slewe
Citron his frende, which he did after rewe.
Because he compared vnto this conquerour 975
His father Philippus, laudes and honour.
And such like chaunce but lately did befall
In the lande of Apuly to the great Senescall:
Which was so greatly in fauour with the Quene,
That none was so great as he him selfe did wene. 980
And thought in fauour to bide more stedfastly,
For he abused the Queene dishonestly.
But to another the Queene turned her loue,
And then him murdered his presence to remoue.
And when she had founde the meanes him to kill, 985
Then had she diuers louers at her will.

Coridon

O cursed woman, and deede of crueltie.

Cornix

Yea yea Coridon, mo be as bad as she,

Abimelech, quia potentem vidit apud se Isaac, ex regno repulit: forsitan & interfici iussisset, nisi digitus Dei cum illo fuisset.

Clitonem, suæ nutricis filium, quia Philippi patris laudes comparare voluisset, Alexander Macedo sua manu interemit. Extant nostri temporis admodum multa exempla, quæ consulto fugio, ne cui videar detraxisse.

De magno regni Apuliæ Senescallo, nemo me dicere prohibet: quia tuta est in mortuos reprehensio. Hic apud Reginam Ioannam primo in loco fuit; potentiamque suam firmiorem putabat, quia & stupris sese insinuauerat. At Regina conuerso in alium amore, percussores ad illum noctu transmisit: quo mortuo alios sibi concubinos substituit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Some haue by malice their sucking children slayne.
 But to my matter will I retourne agayne. 990
 Their fraude and malice I will not nowe declare,
 Who with them dealeth perceyueth what is care.
 But nowe (Coridon) to princes to returne,
 Who pleaseth this day is out agayne the morne.
 Right fewe or none are¹ by a Princes side 995
 Which doth in fauour continually abide.
 While one ascendeth, another doth discende,
 This is the thing whereto they moste intende.
 And which in court men chiefly go about,
 Them selues to bring in, and rub another out. 1000
 And then to climbe vp to office and renowme,
 And while they ascende to thrust another downe.
 Eche one desireth his felowe to excell,
 There is none order, no more then is in hell.
 No loue, no fauour, fayth nor fidelitie, 1005
 One brother can not sure for another be.
 The sonne for² the father hath no compassion,
 And like pitie hath the father of his sonne.
 Eche man for him selfe, and the frende for all,
 Eche one desireth to be the³ principall. 1010
 Eche one will commaunde and haue preeminence,
 And if any one haue place of excellence,
 He hath about him a thousande eyne and nine,
 And as many tonges to put⁴ him to ruine.

Pauci sunt, qui apud Reges perpetuo sint potentes.
 Sæpe qui heri placuit, hodie displicet. Nullum est in
 atrijs Principum maius studium, quam vt alios de gradu
 præcipitent, & se erigant. Potentiam quilibet appetit:
 nulla inter Curiales habitat fides: non frater à fratre
 tutus inuenitur, nec patri filius fidus est, nec filius
 Patrem seruat: quilibet sibi studet: omnes præferri
 volunt, omnes mandare.

Si quis potens est, mille circa se oculos habet, &
 totidem linguas, ad ruinam eius aspirantes;

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

On euery side enuyers him awayte, 1015
Deuising meanes to bring¹ him from his state.
A man of power which many men may deare
Hath euer ill will,² thus may he many feare.
Hye towres decay builded by flouds side,
Which doth the waues continually abide. 1020
What shall a shepherde do in the court to tende,
Whose life and seruice on one man³ doth depende.
Though thou in fauour be with a princes⁴ or king,
Yet trust not therein, it is vncertayne thing.
Thou haste him not bounde to thee with chayns strong 1025
Of lead or yron to last and tary long.
But with feble waxe suche bande can not last,
When loue waxeth colde, then shall the linkes brast.
The feruour⁵ of wrath shall them consume and melt,
Then is thy fauour scant worth a shepes pelt. 1030

Coridon

Of some haue I heard of men of great honour,
Which haue in the court bid alway in fauour.
Till time their princes departed from this life,
And then with the newe had like prerogative.
Thus in the court nothing so variable 1035
As thou rehearsest, nor yet so reprobable.

Cornix

I graunt thee Coridon, some such haue there bene,
But that is a birde which seldome time is sene.
That is but fortune, and chaunce not on to trust,

& vnus hinc, alius illinc premit. Nimum multos timere
habet, qui multum potest: & illum omnes oppugnant,
qui Principigrator existimatur. Ruunt turre, quæ iuxta
flumen sitæ, perpetuum in se aquæ cursum recipiunt.
Quid tu facias, qui ex vnus voluntate dependes? in
cuius amore nec ferro, nec plumbo, sed cera fixus
teneris: quam vel infrigidatus amor excutiet, vel iræ
feruor eliquabit.

Non omnibus tantum arridet Fortuna (vti vides)

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But many be thrown vnwarely to the dust. 1040
Some while their princes still liued in renowme,
But when they depart, all turneth vp set downe.
Then if some haue fauour with princes successours,
We see them seldome set in so hye honours,
As with their elders they did before obtayne, 1045
A man soone falleth, and slowe is vp agayne.
So many we see^r deposed from degree:
And howe much the more they were in dignitie,
So much more after be they vile and abiect,
Their auncient name counted of none effect. 1050
Then they perceyue who was their frende and fo,
Before in honour forsooth they could not so.
To men of power some often stoupe and becke,
Which gladly would see their heades from the^r necke.
When they by fortune are on the grounde agayne, 1055
Then laugh their foes and haue at them disdayne.
Their frendes dolour and sorowe is not small,
Their owne disworship a shame is worst of all.
For after they liue still in dolour and distresse,
In shame, rebukes, in care and heauynes. 1060
This is the common ende and sure conclusion
Of such as with princes serue for promotion,
Wherefore I dare call them fooles before thee,

quantum Cancellario nostri Cæsaris, Caspari Schlick,³
quem vel miranda fati clementia, vel singularis virtus
atque præstantia (quæ in paucissimis hominibus reperi-
tur) apud tres Cæsares inter primores potentem reddidit.
Alios vero vix vnquam vidimus in Curia Successoris
tales esse, quales apud Antecessorem fuere. Sed præci-
pitari complurimos ex gradu cernimus; ita vt quanto
prius honoratiores, & potentiores censebantur, tanto
exinde debiliores, & inhonoratiores fiant, & sint inimi-
cis gaudic; Amicis vero & propinquis, & sibi, dolori,
molestiæ, atque dedecori. Est autem vulgatissimus
eorum finis, qui apud Principes vel Honorem vel Poten-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Which serue in the court for might or dignitie.

Coridon

Forsooth mate Cornix, I can not well denye, 1065

But that such chaunces do happen commonly.

Then better is small fire one easily to warme,

Then is a great fire to do one hurt or harme.

I am assured, as for thy selfe and me,

We nede not to feare to fall from our degree. 1070

Beggery is lowest, who that can fare withall

Needeth not to feare to lower state to fall.

But haue done Cornix, and tell the wretchednes

Of such as in court serue onely for riches.

As for the other, the best that we do may 1075

Is, to differre it vntill another day.

Cornix

Well sayde Coridon, I am content with that,

But first let me drinke, I shall the better chat.

This whey is soure, but vse easeth the payne,

Drinke Coridon, and stop it vp agayne. 1080

Coridon

Nowe say on Cornix, thy talking liketh me,

I see that counsell excludeth capacitie.

Saue for thy wisdomes or this time as I wene,

With courtly misery I tangled should haue bene.

But well fare counsell when it is true and good, 1085

I would that Minalcas this also vnderstoode.

Cornix

Many of the court resort dayly doubtlesse,

In youth to gather some treasure or riches,

Then against age they may go out agayne,

And afterwarde liue without labour or payne. 1090

tiam quæritant: quos in errore tam manifesto comprehensos, stultissimos esse nemo negauerit. Nec plura de Potentia.

Nunc DIVITIAS prosequamur, quas minime dubium est complures mortales in curiales carceres attraxisse;

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In hope of this ease and latter libertie,
 Many in the court bide longe captiuitie.
 And if some courtier thus to him selfe doth say,
 Alas shall I neuer ought for my selfe puruey. A v
 When shall I in court some litle banke procure,¹ 1105
 That from the bagge and staffe mine age may be sure.
 The foole thinketh then moste riches for to haue
 Against such season when nerest is his graue.
 When nere is ended his iourney of this life,
 Then is he for vitayle moste busy and pensife. 11100
 Our Sauour sayth: It is as harde doubtles
 To one which fixeth his pleasure on riches
 To enter that royalme which is aboue the skye,
 As as asse to enter through a needels eye.
 I heard our Uicar say in like maner wise 11105
 Once when he preached against couetise:
 Then it is foly great riches to purchase,
 And by it to lose the hope of heauenly place.
 Is not Christ able his poore men to sustayne,
 Yes, and to rid them out of all other payne. 11110
 The poore Apostles be greater nowe of fame
 Then riche Cresus, for all his royall name.
 When man hath in God his trust and confidence,

qui cum Oratio se laborem ferre dicunt senes, vt in ocia
 tuta recedant. Quidam vero Iuuenalis referunt verba:

*Quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus,
 A tegete et baculo.* (Sat. 9).

Aduersus quos possum Saluatoris nostri sermonem
 referre, qui tam difficile dicit, diuitem intrare regna
 cœlorum, quam per foramen acus transire Camelum.
 Quo fit, vt stultum sit Diuitias quærere, & spem
 patriæ coelestis amittere.

Nec mihi quisquam timorem famis adducat, quasi
 non habeat Christus, vnde alat pauperes suos. Apos-
 toli nauim & retia reliquerunt, inquit Hieronymus: nec

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In all time of neede he fayleth none expence.
All good men fixe their trust in God pardie,¹ 1115
He knoweth better what thing we neede then we.
Of some poore freers is made more curiously,
Then is some Abbey or riche monastery.
The first hath their trust in God our Creatour,
The other trusteth vpon their vayne treasour. 1120
Thus God oft helpeth them that in him haue trust,
When worldly riches men leaueth in the dust.

Coridon

Cornix, thy promise was not to preache,
But me of the courtiers misery to teache.
Against thine owne selfe thou speakest nowe perdie, 1125
For first thou grutched² against pouertie.
Agayne, thou blamest plentie of riches nowe,
But fewe men liuing thy saying will alowe.
For without riches, thou sayest openly
Uertue nor cunning nowe be nothing set by. 1130

Cornix

I will not denye, but it is neede doubtles
For all men liuing for to haue some riches,
But trust me Coridon, there is diuersitie
Betwene to haue riches, and riches to haue thee.
Then thou hast riches when thou despisest store, 1135
Bestowest³ it well, and forcest⁴ not therefore.
But riches haue thee when wretched couetise

tamen illis quicquam defuit. Libertas Christi Pauperum
& olera, Cræsi diuitijs præferuntur. Sed ista fortasse
nimium religiose dicuntur, nec talia sunt, quæ vulgo
probari queant.

Agamus igitur, pingui Minerua, consentiamusque
Iuuenali, & Aristoteli, ad Felicem vitam opus esse
diuitijs: quia

*Non facile emergunt quorum virtutibus obstat
Res angusta domi.*

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thy minde subdueth to euery ill and vice.
And when thy desire is yet insaciable
Though thou haue treasure almoste innumerable. 1140
Such maner riches (the Collyer tell thee can)
Is vile and odible both vnto God and man.
But nowe to the court for to returne agayne,
Some thinke by princes great riches to obtayne.
But while they couete inriched for to be, 1145
Coridon, forsooth they lese their libertie.
And yet if I should the very truth expres,
No man can in court finde iust and true riches.
If thy lorde geue thee eyther golde or fee,
Unto his seruice more art thou bounde perdie. 1150
Saint Gregory sayth, affirming the same thing,¹
In greatest giftes is greatest reckening.
But if thou wilt then forth of the court depart,
When by thy prince inriched thus thou art.
Then shall be founde some gile,² some fraude or trayne,³ 1155
By meane wherof thou lesest all agayne.
A fault shall be founde, some one shall thee accuse
Of thing wherof thou did neuer thinke nor muse.
Though thou be giltlesse, yet shalt thou be conuict,
Fare well, thy good all shall be from thee lickt, 1160
Or some backe reckening concerning thine office
Of all thy riches shall pill thee with a trice.

Sunt, qui se posse putant diuitias cumulare Principibus seruientes. At hi, vt diuitias comparent, libertatem vendunt, nec tamen diuitias assequuntur. Nam si tibi Princeps vel beneficia contulit, vel Feuda concessit, vel res alias; tanto magis seruire teneris, quanto maiora sunt dona. Quod si aliunde nescis, ex Gregorio discito; Cum enim, inquit ille, augentur dona, rationes etiam crescunt donorum.

Quod si tunc ex Curia velis abire, cum diues es factus, mox omnia perdidisti. Inuenitur caussa, submittitur accusator; conuinceris reus, etiam non com-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then art thou clapped in the Flete or Clinke,
Then nought must thou say, whatsoeuer thou thinke.
For if thou begin to murmure or complayne, 1165
Thy life thou lesest, then haste thou harmes twayne.

Coridon

Yet were it better for to continue still
As long in the court as is the princes will.

Cornix

If thou continue, thou must be diligent
And ready at hande at eche commaundement, 1170
When he commaundeth, thou must be prest to fight
To ride and to go by day and eke by night.
No dreade, no daunger may helpe thee nor excuse,
No payne nor perill mayst thou flee or refuse.
Sometime must thou be in ayre contagious, 1175
And in thousandes other of chaunces perillous.
What he commaundeth, that nedes do thou must,
Be it good or ill, rightwise or uniust.
Laugh when he laugheth, all if thine heart be sad,
Wepe when he wepeth, be thou neuer so glad. 1180
Laude what he laudeth, though it be not laudable,
Blame what he blameth, though it be commendable.
And shortly to speake, thou must all thing fulfill
As is his pleasure, and nothing at thy will.
None of thy wittes are at thy libertie, 1185
Unto thy master they needes must agree.
What is more foolishe, more fonde or imprudent

missi criminis; auferuntur bona, & ne conqueri vnquam possis, eripitur & vita.

Si vero in Curia perseueraueris, oportet ad quæuis imperia Regis esse paratum, Ire in bellum, per latrones transire, nauigare in mari, manere in peste, mille capitis adire pericula. Iustum & iniustum exequi mandatum; ridere & flere cum Rege; laudare quem laudat, vituperare quem vituperat:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then to get riches by such extreme torment.
For nought it is els but playne a phrensey
To bide for riches this care and misery. 1190
It would make one clawe where as it doth not itche^r
To see one liue poore because he would dye riche.
Because one in court hath gotten good, or twayne,
Should all men suppose the same there to obtayne?
And in hope thereof to lose their libertie, 1195
But seeking riches, such findeth pouertie.
For many in court while they abide riches,
Spende all their treasure and liue in wretchednes,
What saith some foole, spende on a bone viage,
Perchaunce my wages shall passe mine heritage. 1200
But while he spendeth till scant remayne a grote,
Home he retourneth, yea, with a threede bare coate.
His horse is so fat, that playne he is not able
To get his body nor head out of the stable.
His sworde and buckler is pledged at the bere, 1205
And to go lighter, so is his other gere.
The rider walketh now with his bowe and arowes,
With a fayre excuse (in hedges to kill sparowes).

Nulla tibi in verbis aut in operibus, libertas supererit.
Quid igitur stultius est, quam diuitias per tot tormenta cogere? cum sit manifesta phrenesis, teste Satyrico:

Vt locuples moriaris egenti viuere fato. (Juv. Sat. 14)

Nonne præterea deliramentum est, cum duo vel tres cumulauerint opes, omnes huius liberalitatis munificentiam expectare, & non potius infinitos respicere qui dum Regibus seruiunt, ad extremam inopiam sunt deducti.

Iam dabitur (inquit Persius) *iam iam, donec, deceptus & expes,*
Nequicquam fundo suspiret nummus in imo. (Persius Sat. 2)

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And oft returning he sayde, but all to late.
Aduē all courting in the deuils date. 1210

Coridon

A syr, this passeth nowe by the rode of some,¹
Better were for suche to haue bid² at home.
But tell me Cornix, hath all men the bondage
And payne of the court for no more aduantage.

Cornix

Yes, sometime riches is geuen by some chaunce 1215
To such as of good haue greatest aboundaunce.
Likewise as streames vnto the sea do glide,
But on bare hilles no water will abide:
So if a poore man serue in the court longe while,
Fortune shall neuer so frendly on him smile, 1220
But that a riche man in rowme or hye dignitie
For a litle seruice hath more rewarde then he.
As for the seruice, none in the court shall ponder,
They note the person, still is the poore kept vnder.
For a litle man mete is a small hakney, 1225
So smallest persons haue small rewarde alway.
But men of worship set in auctoritie
Must haue rewardes great after their degree.
And (Coridon) princes geue nought I tell thee playne,
But when that they lust reuoke agayne. 1230
And so such thinges which princes to thee geue,
To thee be as sure as water in a siue.
Thou mayest not of them make alienation,

Diuitibus nonnunquam dari solent diuitiæ, sicut in
mare feruntur aquæ. Nemo pauper, quamuis diu &
admodum vtiliter seruiuerit, tantum præmij reportabit,
quantum diues ex obsequio paruo. Non enim seruitia
in Curijs Principum, sed personæ ponderantur. Nam
& *Paruos parua decent, & magnos munera magna.*

Nec donare Reges solent, quod nequeant, cum libido
fuerit, auferre. Itaque nec rem donatam, si velis, alienare
poteris,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Nor the same carye vnto another nation.
Thou mayest not dispose them after thine intent, 1235
But like as thy prince is pleased and content.
Then such vayne riches can be thine by no skill,
Sith thou haste no might to spende them at thy will.
Yea, and moreouer thou haste no facultie
The same to bequeath at will when thou must dye. 1240
If thou want issue, no man shall be thine heyre
Saue onely the prince, thus doth the world fare.
If thou haue issue, succede shall they not thee,
Except with thy prince they will in seruice be.
How many haue be slayne me needeth not expresse 1245
Of such as them erst auauunced to riches.
So princes are wont with riches some to fede,
As we do our swine when we of larde haue nede.
We fede our hogges them after to deuour,
When they be fatted by costes and labour. 1250
In like wise princes promoteth many one,
And when they be riche, they gnaw them to the bone.
Like as Longinus and Seneca doubtlesse,
Which as sayth Codrus were slayne for their riches,
So writeth Pius (whom some Eneas call) 1255
A clause alleaging of famous Iuuenall.

nec in aliud regnum transferre: nec ex ea quicquam dis-
ponere, quod Regi non placeat. Non sunt igitur tuæ
huiusmodi diuitiæ, quibus non potes vti pro arbitrio.

Quid, quod neque testandi facultatem habebis.
Namque si liberis careas, nemo tibi non Princeps erit
hæres. Si adsunt filij, nisi & ipsi Principi seruiant, non
succedent tibi. Taceo, quot diuites necati iussu eorum
sint, qui eos ditauerant. Solent enim Principes sic non-
nullis largiri multa, sicut & nos sues pascimus, vt eos,
postquam impinguati fuerint deuoremus. Sic de Seneca,
Longinoque legimus, quos propter diuitias interemtos
Iuuenalis affirmat, his versibus:

Temporibus diris igitur, iussuque Neronis,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

The more of the court that thou doest count and tell,
The lesse me liketh with it to deale or mell.

Cornix

What bide Coridon, yet haste thou not heard all,
The Court is in earth an ymage infernall, 1260
Without fayre paynted, within vggly and vile,
This know they surely which there hath bene a while.
But of our purpose nowe for to speake agayne,
Fewe princes geue that which to them selfe attayne.
Trust me Coridon, I tell thee by my soule, 1265
They robbe saint Peter therewith to cloth S. Powle.¹
And like as dayly we both may see and here,
Some pill the Church, therewith to leade the quere.
While men promoted by such rapine are glad,
The wretches pilld mourne and be wo and sad. 1270
And many heyres liue giltlesse in distresse,
While vnworthy hath honour and riches.
But such vile giftes may not be true playnly,
Nor yet possessed by lawe rightwisely.
And sith fewe rowmes of lordly dignitie 1275
Be won or holden with right and equitie,
Say what thing haue they to geue by lawe and right,
Sith their chiefe treasure is won by wrongful might.
Whence come their iewels, their coyn, and cloth of price,

*Longinum, & magnos Seneca prædiuitis hortos
Clausit, & egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
Tota cohors. (Sat. 10).*

Perierunt enim & Laterani propter diuitias. Sancte
igitur scriptum est, & vere: Qui amat diuitias, fructum
non capiet ex eis.

Adde quod paucissimi Reges quæ sua sunt donant.
Rapiunt enim vt donent: quæ nec vera sunt dona,
nec iustè possidentur. Cum vix Regnū vllum inuenia-
tur, quod non sit vel partum, vel continuatum fraude.
Quid est quod largiri iustè Principes possint?

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Saue moste by rapine and selling of Iustice, 1280
Els of Saint Peters, or Christes patrimony.
Nowe fewe be founders, but confounders many.
These be no giftes true, honest nor laudable,
Neyther to the geuer nor taker profitable.
These men call giftes of none vtilitie, 1285
Which thus proceedeth of false iniquitie.
Then leaue we this vice while all good men it hate,
For couetous with coyne be neuer saciate.
I hearde syr Sampson^e say but this other day,
That Ierome and Seneca do both this sentence say, 1290
That couetous wretches not onely want that thing
Which they neuer had in tittle nor keeping.
But that which they haue also they want and fayle,
Sith they it hauing of it haue none auayle.
And as I remember, olde Codrus sayde also 1295
That golde nought helpeth when we must hence go.
Scant haue we pleasure of it while we here tary,
And none can his store nor glory with him cary.
Thus ought we to liue as hauing all in store,
But nought possessing, or caring nought therefore. 1300
What should christen men seeke farther for riches,

Vnde pecuniæ? Vnde iocalia veniunt, quæ apud Principes sunt, nisi ex raptu vel venditione Iusticiæ, aut ex spolijs Ecclesiarum? At ista sunt iniquitatis præmia, quæ nec Regi prodesse, neque tibi vtilitati, si donata fuerint, esse possint.

Relinquamus igitur hanc diuitiarum cupiditatem, quia non impletur auarus pecunia: & Auaro, vt inquit Hieronymus, & Seneca prius dixerat, tam deest quod habet, quam quod non habet. Scimus Scripturam dicentem; quia non proderunt diuitiæ in tempore vltionis. Diues enim, cum interierit, non sumet omnia, & non descendet cum eo gloria domus eius. Viuamus, obsecro, tanquam nihil habentes, & omnia possidentes.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Hauing foode and cloth it is ynough doubtlesse,
And these may our Lorde geue vnto vs truely.
Without princes seruice or courtly misery.
Thus finde we in court playne no riches at all, 1305
Or els finde we such with care continuall.
That it were better no riches to haue founde
Then for false treasure in thraldome to be bound.

Coridon

Looke vp mate Cornix, beholde into the west,¹
These windy cloudes vs threatneth some tempest. 1310
My clothes be thin, my shepe be shorne newe,
Such storme might fall that both might after rewe.
Driue we our flockes vnto our poore cotage,
To morowe of court we may haue more language.
This day haste thou tolde and proued openly 1315
That all such courtiers do liue in misery.
Which serue in the court for honour, laude or fame,
And might or power, thou proued haste this same:
And that all they liue deepest in distresse
Which serue there to win vayne treasour and² riches. 1320
As for the other two, and if ought more remayne,
Thou mayest tell to morowe when we turne agayne.

Cornix

I graunt Coridon, take vp thy bottell sone,
Lesse is the burthen nowe that the drinke is done,
Lo here is a sport, our bottell is contrary 1325
To a Cowes vtter, and I shall tell thee why.
With a full vtter retourneth home the cowe,

Victus atque vestitus, vt iterum Hieronymi verbis
vtar. Diuitiæ Christianorum sunt: & has est potens
nobis Dominus, absque ministerio Principum, tradere.

Diuitias veras apud Reges, vel non inuenimus, vel
tales inuenimus, quas longè melius fuerat non inue-
nisse, At hoc de diuitijs libâsse sufficiat: Ex quibus, ni
fallor, monstratum est, stultitiæ operam dare, qui ob
opes Principibus famulantur.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So doth not the bottell as it appereth nowe.
Coridon, we must haste in our iourney make,
Or els shall the storme vs and our shepe ouertake. 1330

FINIS

Thus endeth the first Egloge of the miseries of the
Courtiers, compiled and dravven *by Alexander Barclay*. A vj

Here beginneth the seconde Egloge of the miseryes
of Courtiers.

Coridon

HOW fel this Cornix, why taryed thou so long,¹
This is the fourth daye, some thinge is with thee
wronge,

Els some perturbation of household busynes
Unto thy pasture hath made thee tende the lesse.

Cornix

Codrús the richest Shepherde of our coast, 5
Which of his wethers is wont him selfe to boast,
Unto a banket frendly inuited me
The same day after I departed² fro thee:
While I him helped his gestes for to chere,
That hath me caused so lately to be here. 10

Coridon

Who fatly fareth with costly meate and drinke,
For worke behouefull doth litle care or thinke.
When full is the wombe the bones would haue rest,³
Fye on such surfeyt, fayre temperaunce is best.
My wiues gray hen one egge layde euery day, 15
My wife fed her well to cause her two to lay.
But when she was fat, then layde she none at all,
I trowe that like chaunce be vnto thee befall.
For nowe of thy flocke thou hast no minde nor care,
Since time thy wittes were dulled with fat fare. 20

Cornix

Not so Coridon, for when I sup at home,
I oft go to bed with faynt and hungry wombe:
Then lye I slumbring to win in slepe I thinke
That same which I lost for want⁴ of meate and drinke.
But when I am fed, then sleepe I stedfastly, 25
And after short rest then worke I lustely.⁵

Coridon

A birde well ingorged kepes well her nest,
A full bely asketh a bed full of rest.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Cornix

That is when dyet exceedeth temperaunce,
Then foloweth slouth and all misgouernaunce: 30
As brauling, babling, discorde and lechery,
Blaspheming, lying, craking and periury.
But as touching me, because I want at home,
When I am abroade I furnish well my wombe.
Yet more I take not then nature may sustayne, 35
And then sore worke I it to disgest agayne.
So did I with Codrus till I am fatigate.

Coridon

I wist well something made thee to come so late.
Me list no longer to common of excesse,
But tell me Cornix what was thy busynes. 40

Cornix

The riuer began the bankes to ouerflowe
At diuers partes, where as the ground was lowe.
For might of water will not our leasure bide,
We fayne were our shepe a while¹ to set aside.
And both day and night to put to our diligence 45
For to ouercome the floudes violence.
Strengthing our bankes, and heyghting them agayne
Which were abated with flouds or² great rayne.

Coridon

The earth in this poynt is like maners of men,
From hye groundes³ water descendeth to the fen. 50
The hye mountaynes of water them discharge,
And lade the riuers with floudes great and large.
Agayne the riuers dischargeth them likewise,
And chargeth the Sea: so mens common gise
Is alway to lay the burthen or the sacke 55
(Which them sore griueth) vpon some other backe.

Cornix

Nothing is truer then is this of thee sayde,⁴
It is a true prouerbe, and pretlyly conuayde.

Coridon

But nowe thou art come, I pray thee heartyly,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Begin where thou left of Courtiers misery. 60
The heauen is clere, the cloudes cleane away,
Which is a token of caume and pleasant day.
The poynted birdes with pleasaunt tunes¹ sing,
The dewy floures freshly doth smell² and spring.
All thing reioyceth, eche thing doth nature kepe, 65
Then were it great shame to vs to snort and slepe.
By mery talking long time³ seemeth short,
In frendly speeche is solace and comfort.

Cornix

As I remember, we spake last of riches,
Nowe talke we of lust or voluptuousnes. 70
Forsooth some wretches of maners vile and rude
Haue counted in lust most hye beatitude.
And namely the sect which folowe Epicure,
Which shamefull sect doth to this day indure.
Whom the Philosophers and clerkes now a dayes 75
Despise with wordes, yet folowe they his wayes.
For what is that clerke or prelate in honour,
Which cleane despiseth all temporall pleasour.
And therefore perchaunce if any such there be,
Despising to locke on fayrenes or beautye, 80
Despising odours or sapour⁴ delicate,
And pleasaunt touching despising in like rate:
Some call them happy which can such thing exclude,

Nunc tempus admonet, vt de VOLVPTATIBVS
disseramus, in quibus multi mortales beatitudinem
posuerunt: Atque in primis Epicurus, vir aliquando
magnus quem Philosophi nostri temporis magis verbis,
quam factis, reprobant. Nam quotus est, obsecro, vel
Theologorum qui voluptatibus non inseruiat. Quamo-
brem forte inueneris, qui aspernetur oculis pulchri-
tudinem rerum; non odore vllo, non tactu, non sapore
capiatur, secludatque auribus omnem suauitatem: Huic
homines, & fortasse pauci, Deos propitios, plerique
autem iratos putabunt.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But no men count them of maners dull and rude.
 For two diuers wayes doth mans life contayne, 85
 The one of vertue, of diligence and payne:
 The other of lust, of pleasure, mirth and rest,
 The first despising, men count the second best.
 The way of vertue is rough and desolate,
 With weede and thornes shut, for all men it hate. 90
 Fewe it frequenteth or folowe in regarde,
 For the first entry to them appereth harde.
 The way of pleasure is playne and euident,
 And greatly worne, for many it frequent.
 The harde way of vertue at ende hath quietnes, 95
 The playne way of pleasure hath daunger and distresse.
 Yet where one haunteth the passage of vertue,
 For that one foure score their lustes doth insue.

Coridon

These matters be hye and semeth me diffuse,
 Drawe to our purpose, cause me no longer muse. 100

Cornix

Though I be poore and here nothing set by,
 Yet haue I or this sene some Philosophy,
 But the lacke of vse hurteth all science,
 And wretched thraldome is enemie¹ to prudence.
 What time the person is counted as abiect, 105
 Then langour maketh the wit of small effect.
 A famous doctor is blinded among fooles,
 Onely his valour is clerest² in the scholes.
 A precious stone well couched in pure³ golde

In Oratione pro Marcello Ciceronem declamantem inuenimus; quibus in verbis omnes **QUINQUE SENSUS** tetigit, quibus voluptates hauriuntur. Cumque duæ viæ sint, quibus humana vita continetur, Altera virtutum, Altera voluptatum: Illa deserta, inculta atque interclusa frondibus & virgultis: hæc semper hominum frequentia teritur; nec quisquam est, qui voluptati non obsequatur.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Is bright and comely, and goodly to beholde, 110
Throwe it in the mire then is the beautie gone
And hid for the time, both of the golde and stone.
For lacke of vsing a sworde earst glased bright
With rust is eaten, made foule and blacke to sight:
Right so my reason sometime freshe to deuise, 115
Is nowe made rusty for lacke of exercise.

Coridon

By this disputing thou mayst scoure of¹ the rust,
Returne nowe to speake of pleasour and² lust.

Cornix

Many blinde wretches bide in the court labour,
There wening to win their lustes and pleasour, 120
But it is a wonder and matter chiefe of all
To speake of their folly and appetite rurall:
But first let vs talke what pleasour is there sene
With the fiue wittes, beginning at the eyne.

Coridon

That is truth Cornix, right many thinges there be 125
Which men haue pleasour and great delite to see,
And these in the court be moste in³ abundaunce.

Cornix

Nay, there has the sight no maner of pleasaunce,
And that shall I proue long time or it be night.
Some men deliteth beholding men to fight, 130
Or goodly knightes in pleasaunt apparayle,
Or sturdie souldiers in bright harnes⁴ and⁵ male,
Or an army arayde ready⁶ to the warre,
Or to see them fight, so that he stande afarre.

Suntque admodum multi, qui tanquam voluptatibus
fruituri, obsequia Principum amplectuntur: quod quam
stultissimum sit, operæ precium fuerit ostendisse: Ac
de voluptate, quæ primum OCVLIS percipitur, primum
dicamus.

Oblectantur nonnulli, dum splendidos Equites con-
spiciunt, dum bella geri, exercitusque concurrere vident;

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Some glad is to see these Ladies beauteous 135
 Goodly appoynted in clothing sumptuous:
 A number of people appoynted in like wise
 In costly clothing after the newest gise,
 Sportes, disgising,¹ fayre coursers mount and prauce,
 Or goodly ladies and knightes sing and daunce, 140
 To see fayre houses and curious picture,
 Or pleasaunt hanging, or sumptuous vesture
 Of silke, of purpure or golde moste orient,
 And other clothing diuers and excellent,
 Hye curious buildinges² or palaces royall, 145
 Or Chapels, temples fayre and substanciall,
 Images grauen or vaultes curious,
 Gardeyns and medowes, or place delicious,
 Forestes and parkes well furnished with dere,
 Colde pleasaunt streames or welles fayre and clere, 150
 Curious cundites or shadowie³ mountaynes,
 Swete pleasaunt valleys, laundes or playnes,
 Houndes, and suche other thinges manyfolde
 Some men take pleasour and solace to beholde.
 But all these pleasoures be much more iocounde 155
 To priuate persons which not to court be bounde,
 Then to suche other whiche of necessitie
 Are bounde to the court as in captiuitie.
 For they which be bounde to princes without fayle,

dum formosas cultasque mulieres intuentur: dum cœtus
 hominum ornatorum: dum ludos, dum iocos, dum pul-
 cros equos, dum picturas, dum sericeos pannos, pur-
 pureos, aureos; dum mirificas vestes, insignes vrbes,
 egregias domos, alta palatia, marmorea templa, testu-
 dines, viridantia prata, lucos, fontes, flumina, feras:
 serenum aërem, montes apricos, amœnas valles, armenta,
 canes, & huiusmodi cætera contemplantur.

At hæc omnia multo i[u]cundiora* sunt priuatis homi-
 nibus, quam Curia obligatis. Nam qui seruitio Regum

* 1578 ed. incundiora.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

When they must nedes be present in battayle 160
There shall they not be at large to see the sight,
But as souldiours in middest of the fight,
To runne here and there sometime his foe to smite,
And oftentimes wounded, herein is small delite.
And more muste he think his body to defende, 165
Then for any pleasour about him to intende,
And oft is he faynt and beaten to the grounde,
I trowe in suche sight small pleasour may be founde.
As for fayre ladies clothed in silke and golde
In court at thy pleasour thou canst not beholde, 170
At thy princes pleasour thou shalt them onely see,
Then suche shalt thou see which little set by thee,
Whose shape and beautie may so enflame thine heart,
That thought and langour may cause thee for to smart.
For a small sparcle may kindle loue certayne, 175
But scantly Seuerne may quench it clene agayne.
And beautie blindeth and causeth man to set
His heart on the^r thing which he shall neuer get.
To see men clothed in silkes pleasauntly
It is small pleasour, and ofte causeth enuy. 180
While thy leane lade halteth by thy side
To see another vpon a Courser ride,
Though he be neyther gentleman nor knight,
Nothing is thy fortune thy hart can not be light.
As touching sportes and games of pleasaunce, 185
To sing, to reuell and other daliaunce:

mancipatus est, in bello non vt spectator, sed vt miles
aderit, & huc atque illuc concursabit, ac hostem ferire,
sequē tueri magis, quam oblectare oculos cogitabit.

Mulieres non intuebitur, nisi cum Regi placueit:
tuncque illas videbit, cum alijs gratæ, sibi molestissimæ
sunt.

Ornati vestibus homines, plus inuidiæ, quam volup-
tatis præbebunt: & alienos equos, & meliores, & niti-
diores, quam sui, non lætabitur inspexisse. locis atque

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Who that will truely vpon his lorde attende
 Unto suche sportes¹ he seldome may entende.
 Palaces, pictures and temples sumptuous,
 And other buildinges² both gay and curious: 190
 These may marchauntes more at their pleasour see,
 Then suche as in court be bounde alway to bee.
 Sith kinges for moste parte passe not their regions,
 Thou seest nowe Cities of foreyn nations.
 Suche outwarde pleasoures may the people see, 195
 So may not courtiers for lacke of libertie.
 As for these pleasours of thinges variable
 Which in the fieldes appeare[t]h* delectable,
 But seldome season mayest thou obtayne respite
 The same to beholde with pleasour and delite. 200
 Sometime the courtier remayneth halfe the yere
 Close within walles muche like a prisonere,
 To make escapes some seldome times are wont,
 Saue when their princes haue pleasour for to hunt,
 Or els otherwise them selfe to recreate, 205
 And then this pleasour shall they not loue but hate:
 For then shall they foorth most chiefly to their payne,³
 When they in mindes would at home remayne.
 Other in the frost, hayle or els snowe,
 Or when some tempest or mightie wind doth blowe, 210
 Or els in great heat and feruour excessife,

ludis perraro intererit, lateri regio semper assistens.
 Palatia vero, Templa, picturas, facilius spectare Mercatores, atque priuati homines, quam Curiales possunt.

Cumque Reges perraro suorum regnorum limites exeant, vrbes inspicere non nisi vnus regni poteris.
 Nec quid apud alias Gentes sit preciosum, videnti tibi copia dabitur.

Ea quoque, quæ in campis sunt visu delectabilia, rarissime inspicias, domo clausus quasi captiuus, nec vnquam exhibis, nisi cum Rex vel venari voluerit, vel

* Cawood appeareeh

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But close in houses the moste parte waste their life,
Of colour faded, and choked¹ nere with dust:
This is of courtiers the ioy and all the lust.

Coridon

What, yet may they sing and with fayre ladies daunce, 215
Both commen and laugh, herein is some pleasaunce.

Cornix

Nay, nay, Coridon, that pleasour is but small,
Some to contente² what man will pleasour call,
For some in the daunce hir pincheth by the hande,
Which gladly would see him stretched in a bande. 220
Some galand seketh hir fauour to purchase,
Which playne abhoreth for to beholde his face.
And still in daunsing most parte inclineth she
To one muche viler and more abiect then he.
No day ouerpassest but that in court men finde 225
A thousande thinges to vexe and greue their minde. Bi
Alway thy foes are present in thy sight,
And often so great is their degree and might
That nedes must thou kisse y^e hand which did thee harm
Though thou would see it cut gladly from the arme. 230
And briefly to speake, if thou to court resorte,
If thou see one thing of pleasour or comfort,
Thou shalt see many before or thou depart
To thy displeasour and pensiuenes of heart:
So findeth thy sight there of more³ bitternes 235
And of displeasour, then pleasour and gladnes.

aliter animum relaxare: quod tum fiet, cum maxime
velles domi manere, cum niues agros coopuerint, vel
cum Solis feruore Mundus ardebit. Sed marcet plærun-
que sub tecto, squalida pulueribus, pars maior Curialium:
Nec in choreis atque tripudijs fœminarum delectatio
datur: cum tu illam respicias, quæ in alium, & te nedum
spernit, sed etiam odit. Nulla dies est, in qua res mille
non videas, quæ tuum conturbent animum. Semper tibi
ante oculos inimici sunt, oscularique manum persæpe

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

As touching the sight now see I clere and playne
That men in the court shall finde but care and payne,
But yet me thinketh as dayly doth appeare,
That men in the court may pleasaunt thinges heare, 240
And by suche meanes haue delectation,
While they heare tidinges and communication,
And all the chaunces and euery neweltie
Aswell of our coste as farre beyönde the sea.
There men may heare some that common of wisdome, 245
For of men wisest within the court be some,
There be recounted and of men learned tolde
Famous Chronicles of actes great and olde,
The worthy dedes of princes excellent,
To moue yong princes suche actes¹ to frequent. 250
For when wise men dare not bad princes blame,
For their misliuing, Minalcas sayth the² same,
Of other princes then laude they the vertue
To stirre their lordes suche liuing to ensue.
And while they commende princes vnworthily, 255
To be commendable they warne them secretly.
All this may courtiers in court ofte times heare,
And also songes of times³ swete and cleare.
The birde of Cornewall, the Crane and the Kite,
And no other like to heare is great delite,⁴ 260
Warbling their tunes at pleasour and at will,
Though some be busy that therin haue no skill.⁵
There men may heare mucche other melody
In sounde resembling an heauenly armony.

cogeris, quam velles truncatam videre: facileque plus amaritudinis, quam dulcedinis, visus tuus ex Curia reportabit.

At in AVDITV, dices, magna est Curialium delectatio, dum Nouitates totius orbis, viros sapientissimos loquentes, dum gesta virorum magnorum, dum cantus, sonosque audiunt Musicorum.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Is this not pleasour? me thinkes no mirth is scant 265
Where no reioysing of minstrelcie doth want,
The bagpipe or fidle to vs is delectable,
Then is there solace more greatly commendable.

Cornix

Thou art disceaured and so be many mo,
Which for suche pleasour vnto the court will go, 270
But for these also I muste finde remedy,
Whiche sue to the court for lust of melody.
They be mad fooles which to reioyce their eares
Will liue in court more dreadfull then with beares:
In stede of pleasour suche finde but heauines, 275
They heare small good, but muche vnhappines.
As touching tidinges which thou dost^t first abiect,
There muche thinges is tolde false and of none effect,
And more displeasour shall wise men in them finde
Then ioye and pleasour to comfort of their mind. 280
These be tidinges in court moste commonly,
Of Cities taken, warre, fraude and² tyranny,
Good men subdued or els by malice slayne,
And bad in their stede haue victory and reigne,
Of spoyling, murther, oppression and rapine, 285
Howe lawe and iustice sore falleth to ruine.
Among the courtiers suche newelties be tolde,
And in meane season they laugh both yong and olde.
While one recounteth³ some dedes⁴ abhominable,
Suche other wretches repute it commendable. 290

Credo & hoc plærosque decipere; Sed medendum est
etiam huic parti, ne quis oblectaturus aures, Curiaë se
astringat, ac molestiam pro voluptate percipiat.

Nam quod tu mihi de Nouitatibus ais, absque negocio
confuto; cum plura illic displicentia, quam grata, audi-
antur. Cum nunc ciuitates captæ, viri præstantes occisi,
spolia facta, rapinæ commissæ, victores mali, victi boni
sæpius referantur.

Viros autem sapientes, qui de moribus ac secretis

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But men of wisdom well learned in Scripture,
Which talke of maners or secretes¹ of nature,
Or of histories, their disputation
Is swetely saused with adulation,
They cloke the truth their princes to content, 295
To purchase fauour and minde beneuolent,
And sometime poetes or oratours ornate,
Make orisons before some great estate,
It is not so swete to heare them talking there,
Where as their mindes be troubled oft with feare, 300
As in the scholes, where they at libertie
Without all flattering may talke playne veritie.
For truely in courtes all communication
Must nedes haue spice of adulation.
Suche as be giltye anone be mad and wroth 305
If one be so bolde playnly to say the troth,
Therefore ill liuers ofte times lauded be,
And men disprayed which loue honestie,
And true histories of actes auncient
Be falsely turned some princes to content, 310
And namely when suche histories testifie
Blame or disworship touching his progenie.
Then newe histories be fayned of the olde,

naturæ disputant, quique historias referunt, non nisi per adulationes apud Principes accipies. Quod si nunquam Oratores, atque Philosophi disertī, Curias adeunt, Orationesque coram Principibus habent; non tam dulce est, eos illic audire, vbi cum metu magis loquuntur, quam in scholis, vbi sunt liberi, & ad veritatem, non complacentiam fantur. Hinc est, quod Athenis, dum libera ciuitas fuit, & Romæ, dum consules Remp. gubernabant, litterarum studia maxime floruerunt.

In Curijs vero, quilibet sermo per adulationem habetur, nihil ad verum dicitur, Commendantur mali, bonique vituperantur. Sunt qui Veterum narrant historias, sed mendose adque peruerse.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

With flattery paynted and¹ lyes manyfolde.
Then some good scholer without promotion 315
Hearing suche glosed communication,
Dare not be so bolde his lying to gaynsay,
But laugh in his minde yet at the foole he may.
And also in the court Auctours not veritable
And least of valour are counted moste laudable, 320
But Liuius, Salust and Quintus Curcius,
Iustinian, Plutarche and Suetonius,
With these noble Auctours and many suche mo
In this time courtiers will nothing haue to do.

Coridon

Cornix, where hast thou these strange names sought? 325

Cornix

I sought not in youth the world all for nought.
Minstrels and singers be in the court likewise,
And that of the best and of the French gise,²
Suche men with princes be sene more acceptable
Then men of wisdom and clarkes venerable, 330
For Philosophers, Poetes and Oratours,
Be seldome in court had in so great honours.
When thou fayne would here suche folkes³ play or sing,
Nothing shall be done of them at thy liking,
But when it pleaseth thy prince⁴ them to call 335

Clarissimorum autoribus non creditur, sed fabellis inanibus
fides adhibetur.

Plus Guidoni de Columna, qui bellum Troianum
magis poetice, quam historice scripsit; vel Marsilio de
Padua, qui translationes Imperij, quæ nunquam fuerent,
ponit; vel Vincentio Monacho; quam Liuius, Salustius,
Iustinus, Quintus Curtius, Plutarchus, ac Suetonius, præstan-
tissimus autoribus, creditur.

Citharistas vero, ac Cantores, quamuis Curia solet
optimos habere (plus enim hoc genus hominum, quam
Philosophorum vel Poëtarum, Principibus placet) non
ad tuam, sed Regis audies voluptatem. Cumque

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Their sounde ascendeth to chamber and to hall,
When thou wouldest slepe or do some busines
Then is their musike to thee vnquietnes,
Yet bide their clamour and sounde thou must¹
To thy great trouble and no pleasour or lust: 340
This is of singers the very propertie,
Alway they coueyt desired for to be,
And when their frendes would heare of their cunning
Then are they neuer disposed for to sing,
But if they begin desired of no man 345
Then shewe they all and more then they can,
And neuer leaue they till men of them be wery,
So in their conceyt their cunning they set by:
And thus when a man would gladiest them heare,
Then haue they disdayne in presence to appeare, 350
And then when a man would take his ease and rest,
Then none can voyde them they be in place so prest,
Yet muste thou nedes eche season principall²
Rewarde suche people els art thou nought at all,
For their displeasour to thee and paynes harde: 355
Lo suche is the court, thou must geue them rewarde.
Beside this in the court men scant heare other thing
Saue chiding and brauling, banning and cursing.
Eche one is busy his felowe for to blame,
There is blaspheming of Gods holy name, 360

dormire, aut aliud opus agere velles, tum potissime
istorum sonis, aut cantibus inquietaberis.

*Omnibus hoc vitium est cantoribus (inquit Oratius) inter amicos
Vt nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati,
Iniussi nunquam desiscant. (Hor. Sat. 5).*

Quo fit, vt cum nolis audias, cum velis, nusquam appar-
eant. Et tamen his, singulis Calendis, aliquid cogeris
elargiri.

Quid, quod omnia iurgiorum atque rixarum sunt
plena: Vnus alteri maledicit. increpant se inuicem:
Blasphemiæ in Deum, sanctosque iaciuntur; omnes in

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Deuising othes with pleasour for the nonce,
And often they speake together all at once,
So many clamours vse they at euery tide
That scant mayst thou heare thy felowe by thy side,
They boste their sinnes¹ as paste the feare of shame, 365
Detracting other men faultie in the same,
One laudeth his lande where he was bred and borne,
At others countrey² hauing disdayne and scorne,
On eche side soundeth foule speche of ribawdry,
Uaunting and bosting of sinne and vilanny, 370
No measure, no maner, shame nor reuerence,
Haue they in wordes in secret or presence,
A rustie ribaude more viler then a sowe
Hath in the court more audience then thou,
Some boke,³ some braule, some slaunder and backbite, 375
To heare suche maners can be but small delite,
Except a wretche will confourme him to that sorte,
Then in suche hearing his blindnes hath comfort.
These scabbed scolions may do and say their will,
When men of worship for very shame are still, 380
Who that hath wisdomes would rather deafe to be
Then dayly to heare suche vile enormitie.

Coridon

I see in hearing men in the court haue no ioye
Yet is it pleasour to handle and to toye
With Galatea, Licoris or Phillis, 385
Neera, Malkin or lustie Testalis,⁴

confuso loquuntur. tot clamores sunt, vt vix socium,
qui prope te est, valeas audire. Quilibet sua facinora
narrat, cum derogatione alterius. Illi suam patriam
laudant, & alienam vituperant: spurcissima vndique
verba personant: nulla in verbis modestia, nulla reue-
rentia, nullus pudor. Scurræ semper audiuntur, vel
detrahentes, vel ructantes. Nam his solis libertas est,
quicquid vel facere velint, vel dicere. Ad hæc, si quis
sapiat, surdus potius esse velit, quam audire.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And other dames, yf coyne be in the pouche
Men may haue pleasour them for to fele and touche.
In Court hath Uenus hir power principall,
For women vse to loue them moste of all 390
Which boldly bosteth or that can sing and iet,
Which are well decked with large bushes¹ set,
Which hath the mastery ofte time in tournament,
Or that can gambauld² or daunce feat³ and gent,⁴
Or that can alway be mery without care, 395
With suche can wemen moste chiefly deale and fare:
So may these courtiers in court some pleasour win
Onely in touching and feling their softe skinne.

Cornix

Thou art abused, forsooth it is not so,
Louers in court haue moste of care and wo. 400
Some women loue them inflamed by vile lust,
But yet very few dare them beleue or trust:
For well knowe wemen that courtiers chat and bable,
They bost their sinnes, and euer be vnstable
After their pleasour, then to the old adewe, 405
Then be they busy to puruay for a newe.
This knowe all wemen, some by experience,
So fewe to courtiers geue trust or confidence,
Except it be suche as forseth not hir name,
Or passeth⁵ all feare, rebuke or worldly shame, 410
Then suche a brothell hir kepeth not to one,

Iam de TACTV pergamus, in quo Venus potissime dominatur, quam nonnulli, rerum ignari, blandissimam in Curijs esse confidunt: Ex eo errantes, quod mulieres eos amare consueuerunt, qui vestibus sunt ornati, qui crines ventilant, qui torneamentis intersunt, qui canunt, qui choreas ducunt, qui semper læti atque hilares inueniuntur, sicut Curiales esse videntur.

Sed minime ita est, vt grata sit hîc Venus. Nam si qua est mulier, quæ hos amat, non tamen eis se credit, quos loquaces agnoscit iactatores, instabiles plurium

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For many courtiers ensueth hir alone.
And none shalt thou loue of this¹ sorte pardee,
But that she loueth another better² then thee.
And then as often as parting felowes mete 415
They chide and braule though it be in the strete,
Hatred and strife and fighting commeth after,
Effusion of bloud, and oftentime manslaughter.
Thou canst no woman kepe streite and nigardly,
To whom many one doth promise largely. 420
Another shall come more freshe and gayly decte,
Then hath he fauour and thou art cleane abiecte,
Then thou hast wasted thy money, name and sede,
Then shalt thou haue nought saue a mocke for thy mede,
Thou art the ninth wening to be alone, 425
For none of this sorte can be content with one:
Yet shall she fayne hir chaste as Penelope,
Though she loue twentie as well as she doth thee,
And eche for his time shall haue a mery loke.
She sigheth as she great sorowe for thee³ toke, 430
With fayned teares she moysteneth oft thy lap
Till time that thy purse be taken in a trap,
And if she perceiue that all thy coyne is gon,
Then daunce at the doore, adewe gentle Iohn.
And ofte when thou goest to visite thy lemman, 435
With hir shalt thou find some other ioly man,
Then shall she make thee for to beleue none other
But he is hir father, hir vncler or hir brother:
But playnly to speake, he brother is to thee,
If kinred may rise of suche iniquitie. 440

amatores: nisi forsitan aliqua est, quæ famam parui-
faciat; tuncque multis circa vnam cōcurrunt, nec vllam,
sine riuali diliges. Hinc rixę, contentiones, odiosa verba,
interdum verbera, & homicidia. Nullam nutrire
modico poteris, cui assint qui multa promittant.
Veniet alter te pulcrior & acceptior; Nulla tamen fides
est, quæ vno contenta sit viro. Sæpe cum amicam petes,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Agayne to hir house if that thou after come
Then shalt thou finde that she is not at home,
But gone to some other, which for rebuke and shame
Durst not come to hir for hurting of his name.

Coridon

Here is a rule, this doth excede my minde, 445
Who would thinke this gile to be in womankinde,
But yet man pardie some be as good within
As they be outwarde in beautie of their skin,
Of this cursed sorte they can not be eche one,
Some be which kepe them to one louer alone, 450
As Penelope was to hir Ulisses.
Thinke on what Codrus recounted of Lucres,
Though she not willing was falsely violate
With hir owne handes procured she hir fate.

Cornix

It were a great wonder among the women all 455
If none were partles of luste venerall,
I graunt some chast what time they can not chuse,
As when all men their company refuse,
Or when she knoweth hir vice should be detect,
Then of misliuing auoydeth she the sect. 460
And though in the world some women thou mayst¹ find
Which chastly liue of their owne² kinde,
Or that can kepe hir selfe onely to one,
Yet is with suche³ of pleasour small or none,
To hir at pleasour thou canst not resorte: 465
In pleasour stollen small⁴ is the comfort,
Neyther mayst thou longe with suche one remayne,
And in shorte pleasour departing in great payne,
To hir mayst thou come but onely nowe and then,
By stealth and startes as priuily⁵ as thou can. 470

aut alium cum ea inuenies, aut isse illam ad alium
reperies.

Quod si tibi grata obtigerit & fida puella, non poteris,
nisi raptim, & per furtum esse cum illa. Neque seruire

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thy loue and thy lorde mayst thou not serue together,
If so, thy wit is distract thou wot not whither,
Thy lorde doth challenge to him thy whole seruice,
And the same doth loue challenge in like wise.
Not onely it is harde in the court to saue 475
Thy leman chast with hir pleasour to haue,
But also it is extreme difficultie
Thine owne wife in court to kepe in chastitie,
For flattering woers on euery side appeare,
And lustie galandes of fayre dissimuled cheare: 480
Some promis golde and giftes great and small,
Some hastie galande is yet before them all,
So many woers, baudes and brokers,
Flatterers, liers, and hastie proferers
Be alway in court, that chast Penelope 485
Coulede scant among them preserue hir chastitie.
So great temptation no woman may resist,
If heauenly power hir might do not assist,
For craft and coyne, flattery and instaunce,
Turneth chast mindes to vile misgouernaunce, 490
Though she be honest yet must thou leaue thy loue,
Sith princes courtes continually remoue,
Then whether she be thy wife or thy concubine,
Hir care and dolour is great, and so is thine:
For neyther mayest thou with^r hir abide. 495
Nor lede hir with thee, or kepe hir by thy side,

Regi & Amori poteris: quia vterque insolens Dominus
est, & qui hominem totum vult sibi.

Adde, quod nedum amicam, sed nec coniugem in
Curia pudicā seruabis. Tot sunt vndique Proci, tot
formosi Iuuenes, tot Promissores, tot Lenæ, vt nec
castissima coniunx resistere tot impugnationibus possit.
Quod si probissima fuerit, deserenda est tamen, cum
indies Curie Principum moueantur, siue coniunx sit,
siue concubina. Tunc anxietates mentisque dolor; quia
nec cum amica remanere, nec illam ducere tecum potes:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

When thou art gone if she behinde remayne
Then feare thee troubleth with torment & with payne. Bij
Because that the minde of woman¹ is vnstable
Alway thou doubttest least she be changeable, 500
And I assure thee if man be out of sight
The minde of woman to returne is very light,
Once out of sight and shortly out of minde,²
This is their maner appeare they neuer so kinde,
Adde to all these scorne and derision 505
Which thou mayst suffer, and great suspection,
Infamy, slaunder and priuie ielosie,
These muste thou suffer without all remedy,
And other daungers mo then a man can thinke,
While other slepeth the louer scant doth winke. 510
Who hath these proued shall none of them desire,
For children brent still after drede the fire³:
Sith that these thinges to all men be greuous,
They be to courtes yet moste dammagious,
Moste paynefull, noyous, and playnely importable, 515
In court them feling hath nothing delectable.

Coridon

I see the pleasour of touching is but small,
I thought it hony, I see nowe it is gall.
Nowe speake on Cornix, I pray thee brefely tell,
What ioye haue courtiers in tasting or in smell, 520
For these two wittes in court be recreate,
Els many wretches be there infatuate.

Cornix

The smell and tasting partly conioyned be,
And part disioyned as I shall tell to thee,
& instabilitatem fœminæ remanentis, cuius est in horas
mutari, semper suspectam habebis. Iunge irrisiones, ac
detractiones, quæ fiunt amantibus. Dinumera discrimina;
pondera suspiciones; omnia hæc, cum sint priuatis grauia,
Curialibus importabilia, nec vsquam in atrijs Regum
tactus oblectatur.

Sequuntur alij duo sensus, ODORANDI & GVS-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For while we receyue some meates delicate, 525
The smell and tasting then both be recreate,
The fragraunt odour and¹ oyntment of swete floure
Onely deliteth the smelling with dolour.²
Of meat delicious gone is the smell and tast
When it is chewed and through the gorge past, 530
But they which in mouth haue pleasour principall,
Are beastly fooles and of liuing brutall.
The famous shepheard whom Nero did behede³
Them greatly blameth which beastly vse to fede,
Which for their wombe chiefe care and labour take, 535
And of their bellies are wont their God to make.

Coridon

A god of the wombe, that heard I neuer ere.

Cornix

Coridon thou art not to olde for to lere,
I playnly shall nowe declare for thy sake,
Howe beastly gluttons a god of their wombes make: 540
To God are men wont⁴ temples to edifie,
And costly auters to ordeyne semblably,
To ordeyne ministers to execute seruice,
To offer beastes by way of sacrifice,
To burne in temples well smelling incence, 545
Gluttons to the wombe do all this reuerence.

Coridon

They and their goddes⁵ come to confusion,
Which forgeth Idols by suche abusion,
But procede Cornix, tell in wordes playne,
Howe all these thinges they to the wombe ordeyne, 550

TANDI, qui partim coniuncti sunt, partim disiuncti:
Nam dum fercula redolentia, sapidaque comedimus,
vterque sensus lætatur. Si qua aut florum, aut vnguen-
torum sequatur fragrantia, non gustum, sed odoratum
iuuabit, & officium suum odoratus amittet, cum in
palato cibus masticabitur. At hi quibus in solo palato
est caussa viuendi, stulti sunt, & pecudum vitam, non

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Which is in temple the aulter and incence,
And the ministers to do their diligence,
Within the temple to kepe alway seruice,
And to the belly which is the sacrifice.

Cornix

To god of the belly gluttons a temple make 555
Of the smoky kitchin, for temple it they take,
Within this temple minister bawdy cookes,
And yong scolions with fendes of their lookes,
The solemne aulter is the boorde or table,
With dishes charged twentie in a rable, 560
The beastes offred in sacrifice or hoste
In diuers sortes of sodden and of roste,
The sawse is incence or of the meate the smell,
And of this temple these be the vessell,
Platters and dishes, mortar and potcrokes,¹ 565
Pottes and pestels, broches² and fleshe hokes,
And many mo els then I can count or tell,
They know them best which with the kitchen mell,
For god of the wombe this seruice they prepare,
As for their true God full little is their care. 570

Coridon

This life is beastly and vtterly damnable.

Cornix

But yet it is nowe reputed commendable.
Princes and commons and many³ of religion
Unto this temple haue chefe deuotion,
To cookes and tauernes some earlier⁴ frequent 575
Then vnto the seruice of God omnipotent,
First serue the belly then after serue our lorde,
Suche is the worlde though it do ill accorde,

hominum sectantur.

Nam & Apostolus eos vituperat, quorum Deus venter
est: Rem namque damnatam sequuntur; quāuis plurimi
propterea velint Regibus obsequi, vt bibere atque

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And suche as deliteth in beastly gluttony
Foloweth the court, supposing stedfastly 580
With meat and with drinke to stuffe well the paunch,
Whose luste insatiate no flood of hell can staunch.
And for that princes vse costly meat and wine,
These fooles suppose to fede them with as fine,
To eate and drinke as swete and delicate 585
As doth their princes or other great estate.¹
Likewise as flyes do folowe and thicke swarme
About fat paunches vnto their vtter² harme:
So suche men as haue in gluttony comfort
To lordes kitchins moste busely resorte, 590
With hungry throtes yet go they ofte away,
And ofte haue the flyes much better³ part then they.

Coridon

Then tell on Cornix what comfort and pleasour
Men finde in court in tasting and sauour,
With meat and drinke howe they their wombes fill, 595
And whether they spede at pleasour and at will.

Cornix

To eate and to drinke then is moste ioye and luste
When men be hungry and greued sore with thirst,
But ofte vnto noon muste thou abide respite,
Then turned is hunger to dogges appetite, 600
For playne wood hungry that time is many one,

edere maxime possint. Et quia Principes optimis
vtuntur vinis atque cibarijs, vesci quoque se eisdem
sperant, potaturosque cum Regibus se confidunt. At
sicut Muscæ pingues mēsas, sic isti vnctas dominorum
popinas insectantur: quamis regalibus epulis magis
muscæ, quam isti potiantur.

Videamus igitur, apud fastigium regale, quanta sit
Curialium edendi atque bibendi voluptas, quæ sane
tunc optima est, cum fames adest, atque sitis: cum nec
illa, nec ista protrahitur. At in Curia perraro ante meri-
diem cibaria distribuuntur: quo tempore non famelici,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That some would gladly be gnawing of a bone,
On which vile cures hath gnawen on before,
His purse is empty and hunger is so sore,
Or some by febleness and weery taryng 605
Lese their appetite that they can eate nothing.
Some other hath eaten some bread and chese before,
That at their diner they list to eate no more,
Their stomake stopped and closed with some crust
From them hath taken their appetite and lust, 610
Then other courtiers of maners bestiall
With greedy mouthes deuoureth more then all.
Thus some at rising be fuller then be swine,
And some for hunger agayne may sit and dine.
Sometime together must thou both dine and sup, 615
And sometime thou dinest before the sunne be vp,
But if thou refuse to eate before day light
Then must thou tary and fast till it be night,
To eate and to drinke then is it small delite
When no disgestion hath stirred appetite. 620
Agayne thou art¹ set to supper all to late,
All thing hath season which men of court not hate,
For neuer shall thy meate be set to thee in season,²

sed rabidi sunt homines. Quibusdam vero expectatio longa, debilitatis spiritibus, appetitum surripuit: alij modico pane, vel caseo pregustato, orificium stomachi clausurunt: quo fit, vt alij vorent, quicquid apponitur, & ad crapulam impleantur: alij vel minimum sumere nequeant.

Interdum in ortu diei, & ante lucem, fercula posita sunt; quæ nisi comederis, vsque in noctem ieiunabis: nec tamen stomachus officium suum fecit, nec appetitus adest.

Cum post meridiem pransus fueris, rursus post horam cœna ponitur: nunquam in suo tempore cibus affertur.

Hinc subitæ mortes, atque intestata senectus;
(*Iuuenal Sat I*)

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Whereof procedeth muche sore vexation,
Ofte age intestate departed sodenly, 625
And lustie galandes departeth sembably,
Hereof procedeth the vomite and the stone,
And other sicknes many mo then one.
Sometime is the wine soure, watery and so bad,
That onely the colour might make a man be mad, 630
Colde without measure or hote as horse pis,
Bad is the colour the sauour badder¹ is:
But if in the court thou drinke both beare and ale,
Then is the colour troubled, blacke and pale.
Thinke not to drinke it in glasse, siluer or² golde, 635
The one may be stollen, the other can not holde,
Of a trene vessell then must thou nedely³ drinke,
Olde, blacke and rustie, lately taken fro some sinke,
And in suche vessell drinke shalt thou often time,
Which in the bottom is full of filth and slime, 640
And of that vessell thou drinkest oft iwis
In which some states or dames late did pis:
Yet shalt thou not haue a cup at thy delite
To drinke of alone at will and appetite,

& orexis, & Vomitus, & iliorum dolor & Calculus, & morborum omnia genera veniunt.

Qualis Cœna, tale Vinum, quod siccida nollet lana pati, vt Iuuenalis ait, affertur: quod cum biberis, insanus fias, acetosum, aquaticum, corruptum, pendulum, acerbum; aut frigidū, aut nimis tepidum; colore saporeque malo. Taceo illos Principes, qui tantum Cereuisiam in potu præbent; quæ cum vbiq̃ue amara sit, in Curijs tamen & amarissima est.

Nec tibi aut in argento, aut in vitro, dari pocula credas, namque in vno furtum timetur, in altero fractura. Potabis igitur ex ligneo Scypho, nigro, antiquo, fœtido; in cuius fundo fex concreta est; in quibus sepe minxisse Domini consueuerunt. Nec tibi vni Scyphus dabitur, vt si velis, vel aquam misceas, vel purum bibas,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon in court I tell thee by my soule 645
 For most parte thou muste drinke of a common boule,
 And where gresy lippes and slimy bearde
 Hath late bene dipped to make some mad¹ afearde,
 On that side muste thou thy lippes washe also,
 Or els without drinke from diner muste thou go.² 650
 In the meane season olde wine and dearely bought,
 Before thy presence shall to thy prince be brought,
 Whose smell and odour so swete and maruelous
 With fragrant sauour³ inbaumeth all the house,
 As⁴ Muscadell,⁵ Caprike,⁶ Romney,⁷ and Maluesy,⁸ 655
 From Gene⁹ brought, from Greece or Hungary.
 Suche shall he drinke, suche shall to him be brought,
 Thou haste the sauour thy parte of it is nought,
 Though thou shouldest perishe for very ardent thirst¹⁰
 No drop thou gettest for to eslake thy lust, 660
 And though good wines sometime to thee be brought
 The taste of better shall cause it to be¹¹ nought,
 Oft wouldest thou drinke yet darest thou not sup
 Till time thy better haue tasted of the cup.
 No cup is filled till diner halfe be done, 665
 And some ministers it counteth then to sone,
 But if thou begin for drinke to call and craue

sed in communi potabis, atque ibi mordebis, vbi nunc
 vel peticulosa barba vel saluosum labium, vel immun-
 dissimi dentes fuerunt.

Interea vinum antiquum in tua præsentia Regi pro-
 pinabitur; cuius tanta fragrantia est, vt euis odore tota
 domus repleatur. Bibet is Muscatellum, Maluaticum;
 ex Gallijs, & Matrigali, ex Riparia Genuensi, ex Hun-
 garia, atque ex ipsa Græcia sibi afferri vina iubebit;
 nec vnquam tibi vel minimum cyathum communicabit,
 quamuis cardiaca passione crucieris. Quod si bonum
 vinum ante te sit, non tamen iucunde sapiet, cum meli-
 oris fragrantiam tuæ hauserint nares.

Velles nonnunquam bibere, sed non audes, nisi

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thou for thy calling such good rewarde shalt haue,
That men shall call thee malapart or dronke,
Or an abbey lowne¹ or limner² of a monke, 670
But with thy rebuke yet art thou neuer the nere,
Whether thou demaunde wine, palled ale or beare,
Yet shalt thou not drinke when thou hast nede & thirst,³
The cup muste thou spare ay for the better⁴ lust.
Through many handes shall passe the pece or cup, 675
Before or it come to thee is all dronke vp,
And then if a droppe or two therin remayne
To licke the vessell sometime thou art full fayne,
And then at the ground some filth if thou espy
To blame the butler thou gettest but enuy. 680
And as men wekely newe holy water power,
And once in a yere the vessell vse to scoure,
So cups and tankardes in court as thou mayst thinke,
Wherein the commons are vsed for to drinke,
Are once in the yere empty and made cleane, 685
And scantly that well as oftentime is sene.
For to aske water thy wines to allay
Thou finde shalt⁵ no nede if thou before assay,
With rinsing of cuppes it tempered is before
Because pure water perchaunce is not in store.⁶ 690

maiores incipiant. Nec famuli vinum apponunt, nisi post medium mensæ: quod si ante petieris & importunus, & petulans, & ebriosus, iudicaberis; nec sine ignominia, quod postulas, obtinebis; nec ad tuam, sed ad maiorum sitim potabis.

Vinum postquam in mensa fuerit, per multas manus transibit, antequam ad te veniat. Nec speres mundari Scyphū dum pincernæ remiscent, quamuis in fundo fex hæreat, vel intus aliquis ructauerit. Nam sicut in templis aquę benedicte subinfunditur; sic in atrijs Principum vinaria vasa, quibus famuli potant, in anno semel euacuata mundantur.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

Fye on this maner, suche seruice I defy,
I see that in court is vncleane penury,
Yet here though our drinke be very thin and small,
We may therof plenty haue when we do call,
And in cleane vessell we drinke therof pardee, 695
Take here the bottle Cornix, assay and see.

Cornix

Then call for the priest when I refuse to drinke,
This ale brewed Bently it maketh me to winke.

Coridon

Thou sayest true² Cornix, beleue me, by the rood
No hand is so sure that can alway make good, 700
But talke of the court if thou haste any more,
Set downe the bottle saue some licour in store.

Cornix

God blesse the brewer well cooled is my throte,
Nowe might I for nede sing hier by a note,
It is bad water that can not allay dust, 705
And very soure ale that can not quench thirst,
Nowe rowleth my tonge,³ now chat I without payne,
Nowe heare me I enter into the court agayne.
Beholde in the court on common table clothes,
So vile and ragged that some his diner lothes, 710
Touche them then shall they vnto thy fingers cleue,

Nec in Vino tantum, sed in Aqua quoque cruciatus
inest. Nam

*Si stomachus Domini (vt Iuuenalis inquit) feruet potuque
ciboque,*

Frigidior geticis petitur decocta pruinis.

Quibusdam in æstatem seruatur glacies, atque hac
in feruoribus vina frigefiunt; nec tibi minima portio
dabitur, maiorque siti cruciaberis, quia videndo nihil
gustabis.

Quid tibi de mappis dicam? nigris, laceris, vinctis,
quæ nedum tibi fastidium mouent, sed manibus appli-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And then must thou wipe thy handes on thy sleue.
So he which dayly fareth in this gise
Is so imbrued and noynted in suche wise,
That as many men as on his skirtes looke 715
Count him a scoleon or els a greesy cooke.

Coridon

Yet Cornix agayne all courting I defye,
More clennes is kept within some hogges stye,
But yet mate Cornix all be not thus I wene,
For some table clothes be kept white and clene, 720
Finer then silke and chaunged euey day.

Cornix

Coridon, forsooth it is as thou doest say,
But these be thinges most chiefe and principall,
Onely reserued for greatest men of all:
As for other clothes which serue the commontie, 725
Suche as I tolde thee or els viler be,
And still remayne they vnto the planke cleuing
So blacke, so baudie, so foule and ill seming,
Of sight and of cent so vile and abhominable,
Till scant may a man discerne them from the table. 730
But nowe heare what meat there nedes eate thou must,
And then if thou mayst to it apply thy lust:
Thy meate in the court is neyther swanne nor heron,
Curlewe nor crane, but course beefe and mutton,

cantur, teque sequuntur, si quando te volueris tergere:
quod plures veriti, madidas pingui iure manus, in proprijis desiccāt vestibus. Hinc est illud abdomen, quod in pectoralibus Curialium cernis, vt satius sit, in stabulis porcorum, quam in Curijs comedere dominorum. Nam mensalia illa munda, sericia, duplicata, solis Principibus seruiunt, & indies mutantur: tua truncis affixa tam diu, vt discerni à mensa possint.

Audi nunc cibaria, & sume Voluptatē, si potes.
Nulla tibi alia mactantur animalia, quam boues, capræ,
porci, vel Vrsi: nec ista recentia, vel paululum trita, sed

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Fat porke or vele, and namely such as is bought 735
For easter price¹ when they be leane and nought.
Thy fleshe is restie or leane, tough and olde,
Or it come to borde vnsauery and colde,
Sometime wise sodden, and cleane² without taste,
Saused with coles and ashes all for haste, 740
When thou it eatest it smelleth so of smoke
That euery morsell is able one to choke.
Make hunger thy sause be thou neuer so nice,
For there shalt thou finde none other kinde of spice.³
Thy potage is made with wedes and with ashes, 745
And betwene thy teeth oft time the coles crashes,
Sometime halfe sodden is both thy fleshe & broth,
The water and hearbes together be so wroth
That eche goeth aparte, they can not well agree,
And ofte be they salte as water of the sea. 750
Seldome at chese hast thou a little licke,
And if thou ought haue within it shall be quicke,
All full of magots and like to the raynebowe,
Of diuers colours as red, grene and yelow, B iij
On eache side gnawen with mise or with rattes, 755
Or with vile wormes, with dogges or with cattes,
Uncleane and scoruy, and harde as the stone,
It looketh so well thou wouldest it were gone.
If thou haue butter then shall it be as ill

postquam fœtere cœperunt, dispensatores emeresolent:
nam quo minoris emunt, eo magis furantur.

Carnes tuæ frigidæ, bis coctæ, immundæ, insipidæ, fœtentes, fumo & carbonibus plenæ, nullis condimentis, nullis salsamentis, speciebusque nullis apparatus: Caules putridi, rapæ marcentes, & mucidæ, legumina semicocta; Ciceraque pisis, fabis, lentibus, interdum & pulueribus atque cineribus mixta.

Caseus raro ad te venit, aut si venit, viuis est plenus
vermibus, vndique perforatus, situ squalidus, saxo
durior. Butyrum fœtidum, lardumque rancida tua fercula

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Or worse then thy chese, but hunger hath no skill, 760
And when that egges halfe hatched be almost
Then are they for thee layde in the fire to rost.
If thou haue peares or apples be thou sure
Then be they suche as might no longer endure,
And if thou none eate they be so good and fine 765
That after diner they serue for the swine.
Thy oyle for frying is for the lampes mete,
A man it choketh the sauour is so swete,
A cordwayners shop and it haue equal sent,
Suche payne and penaunce accordeth best to lent, 770
Suche is of this oyle the sauour perillous,
That it might serpentes driue out of an house,
Oftetime it causeth thy stomake to reboke,¹
And ofte it is ready thee sodenly to choke.
Of fishe in some court thy chefe and vsed dishe 775
Is whiting,² hearing, saltfishe and stockfishe,
If the daye be solemne perchaunce thou mayst fele
The taste and the sapour of tenche or ele,
Their muddy sapour³ shall make thy stomake ake,
And as for the ele is cosin to a snake, 780
But if better fishe or any dishes more
Come to thy parte it nought was before,
Corrupt, ill smelling, and fue dayes olde,

condit. Oua tunc apponuntur tibi, cum iam pullos alat.
Pira & poma marcida, quæ nisi tu comederes, porcoru
esca fuissent. Oleum, quo tibi excoquantur fercula, de
lampadibussumitur, vel lucernis, cuius foetere fugari ser-
pentes possent; quale illud fuisse credendum est propter
quod Romæ cum Bochar⁴ nemo lauari volebat.⁵.....

Pisces tui vel Lucij parui, vel Carpones, vel halecia.
Si natalicium fuerit, poteris & Renkam gustare, luti,
in quo iacuit, odore foetente, & Anguillam colubri
cognatam,⁶ aut hosce pisces, qui apud cloacas vrbium
nutriuntur. Si quis tibi nobilior piscis apponetur, qua-
triduanus erit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For sent thou canst not receyue it if thou would.
Thy bread is blacke, of ill sapour and taste, 785
And harde as a flint because thou none should wast,
That scant be thy teeth able it to breake,
Dippe it in potage if thou no shift can make,
And though white and browne be both at one price,
With broune shalt thou fede least white might make 790
thee nice,
The lordes will alway that people note & see
Betwene them and seruantes some diuersitie,
Though it to them turne to no profite at all,
If they haue pleasour the seruaunt shall haue small.
Thy dishes be one continuing the yere, 795
Thou knowest what meat before thee¹ shall appeare,
This slaketh great parte of luste² and pleasour,
Which asketh daynties moste diuers³ of sapour,
On one dishe dayly nedes shalt thou blowe,
Till thou be all wery as dogge of the bowe,⁴ 800
But this might be suffred may fortune easily,
If thou sawe not sweter⁵ meates to passe by,
For this vnto courtiers moste commonly doth hap,
That while they haue broune bread & chese in their lap,
On it faste gnawing as houndes rauinous, 805
Anone by them passeth of meate delicious,

Panis tuus niger,⁶ & adeo durus, vt vix geminis dentibus frangi queat. Et quamuis eodem precio sæpe niger & albus panis ematur, ne tamen assuescas, semper nigro pasceris. Voluntque Domini assidue inter se, ac seruos, disparitatem notari, quamuis neque voluptati nonnunquam, neque vsui fuerit.

Tua insuper fercula eadem sunt: facileque in annum, quid tibi edenda sit, scire poteris: quæ res admodum voluptate diminuit, quæ solet varietatibus irritari. Posset forsitan aliquis hoc tolerare, nisi meliora præ se ferri continuo cerneret: sicuti Curialibus accidit, qui dum sordidum panem terunt, dumque in morem

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And costly dishes a score may they tell,
Their greedy gorges are rapt with the smell,
The deyntheous dishes which passe through the hall,
It were great labour for me to name them all, 810
And Coridon all if I would it were but shame
For simple shepheardes suche daynties to name.
With broune bread and chese the shepheard is content,
And scant see we fishe paste once in the lent,
And other seasons softe chese is our food, 815
With butter & creame then is our diner good.
And milke is our mirth and speciall appetite,
In apples and plommes also is our delite.
These fill the belly although we hunger sore,¹
When man hath inough what nedeth him haue more, 820
But when these courtiers sit on the benches idle,
Smelling those dishes they bite vpon the bridle,²
And then is their payne and anger fell³ as gall
When all passeth by and they haue nought at all.
What fishe is of sauour swete and delicious 825
While thou sore hungrest thy prince hath plenteous.
Rosted or sodden in swete hearbes or⁴ wine,
Or fried in oyle moste saporous and fine,
Suche fishe to beholde and none therof to taste,
Pure enuy causeth thy⁵ heart nere to brast, 830
Then seing his dishes of fleshe newe agayne,
Thy minde hath torment yet with muche great payne,
Well mayst thou smell the pasties of a hart
And diuers daynties, but nought shall be thy parte.

equorum vel ordeum, vel speltam vorant, aut, quas
vocant, caseatas⁶: Quicquid in aquis suauius
alitur, ante Principem, atque id vel assum: vel oleo
Venefrano, vel vino coctū optimo, inter odoriferas
herbas, intueberis.

Maxima inter pisces tibi inuidia accrescit, nec minor
inter carnes: cum Ceruum, Leporem, Aprum, Cap-
ream, Castorea, Fascianum, Perdicem, Gruem, Pauo-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

The crane,¹ the fesant, the pecocke and curlewe, 835
The partriche, plouer, bittor² and heronsewe,³
Eche birde of the ayre and beastes of the grounde
At princes pleasour⁴ shalt thou beholde abounde.
Seasoned so well in licour redolent
That the hall is full of pleasaunt smell and sent, 840
To see suche dishes and smell the swete odour,
And nothing to taste is vtter displeasour.

Coridon

Yes somewhat shall come who can his time abide,
And thus may I warne my felowe by my side,
What eate softe Dromo, and haue not so great hast, 845
For shortly we shall some better morsell taste,
Soft man and spare thou a corner of thy belly,
Anone shall be sent vs some little dishe of Ielly,
A' legge of a swan, a partriche or twayne.

Cornix

Nay, nay Coridon, thy biding is in vayne, 850
Thy thought shall vanishe, suche dishes be not small,
For common courtiers of them haue nought at all,
To thy next felowe some morsell may be sent
To thy displeasour, great anguishe and torment,
Wherby in thy minde thou mayst suspect and trowe 855
Him more in fauour and in conceipt then thou.
And sometime to thee is sent a little crap

nem, Orycem, Gallinam, Turdos, Merulas, Ficedulas,
Ardeas, Anseres; Hædulos, Agniculos, Cunículos,
Asperiolos & quicquid volat, & quadrupedat saporis
egregij, vorantem Principem videas; atque hæc egregie
condita, pulmentarijsque præparata suauissimis: quæ
cum respicis, nihil ex his, quæ ante te sunt, mordere
potes: sed expectas, & ad comitē dicis; Ecce iam dabit
nobis semiesum Leporem, aut aliquid de clunibus Apri:⁵
Iam piscem assum, iam congelatum aromatico iure ad
nos mittet: Iam pullum gallinaceum, iam duas auiculas
destinabit. Sed euanescit omnis cogitatus tuus. Nam

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

With sauour therof to take thee in the¹ trap,
Not to allay thy hunger and desire,
But by the swetenes to set thee more on fire. 860
Beside all this sorowe increased is thy payne,
When thou beholdest before thy lorde payne mayne²
A baker chosen and waged well for thy,
That onely he should that busines apply,
If thou one manchet³ dare handle or els touche, 865
Because of duetie to thrust it in thy pouche,
Then shall some slouen thee dashe on the eare,
Thou shrinkest for shame thy bread leauing there.

Coridon

My bagge full of stones⁴ and hooke in my hande
Should geue me a courage suche boldly to withstand. 870

Cornix

Not so Coridon, they fare like to cures,
Together they cleaue more fast then do burres,
Though eche one with other ofte chide, braule & fight,
Agaynst a poore stranger they shewe all their might.
It is a great mastery for thee Coridon alone 875
To striue or contende with many mo then one,
A strawe for thy wisdom and arte⁵ liberall,
For fauour and coyne in court worketh all.
Thy princes apples be swete and orient,
Suche as Minalcas vnto Amintas sent, 880

Curialibus nihil horū porrigitur, nisi fortasse ad cruciatum tuum, aliquid socio, tibi assidenti, mitteretur, quo scires, illum te Principi cariorem. Nonnunquam & tibi tantillum dabitur, non quo satieris, sed quo magis afficiaris tædio, quam suaues sint epulæ Principum sciens.

⁶Panem ante Dominum niueum, ac molli saligine factum aspicias: ad quem pistandum proprius eligitur, ac magno stipendio retinetur artocopus. quem si tangere volueris, increpatus percutieris, qui panem tui canistri non receperis, nec intactum heri demiseris.

⁷Poma Principis talia sunt, qualia sorores dicuntur

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Or suche as Agros did in his keping holde,
Of fragrant sapour and colour like pure golde,
In sauour of whom thou onely haste delite,
But if thou shouldst dye no morsell shalt thou bite.
His chese is costly, fat, pleasaunt and holesome, 885
Though thy teeth water thou eatest not a crume,
Upon the sewer¹ well mayst thou gase and gape,
While he is filled thy hunger is a iape.²
Before thy soueraygne shall the keruer stande,
With diuers gesture his knife in his hande, 890
Dismembring a crane, or somewhat deynteous:
And though his parsell be fat and plenteous,
Though vnto diuers thou see him cut and kerue,
Thou gettest no gobbet³ though thou shuld dye & sterue.
In all that thy sight hath delectation, 895
Thy greedy tasting hath great vexation.
What man will beleue that in such wretched thing,
A courtier may finde his pleasure or liuing.
What man is he but rather would assent
That in such liuing is anguish and torment. 900
May not this torment be well compared thus

Hesperides habuisse: & his solum oblectari potes. tam enim odorifera sunt, vt non solum propinquos, sed longè etiam stantes odore suo perfundant. Tangere tamen illa non poteris, aut quouis pacto gustare.

Caseus ex Parma, Placentiaque deducitur: sudans, cereus, pinguis, ex ouibus factus, quæ solum serpillum, cum suauissimis herbis, depastæ sunt.

⁴Structorem interea saltantem per domum, & Chiro-manta voluti cultello ante Dominum diuersis gestibus leporem atque gallinam secantem spectabis; qui te nihil horum permittit tangere, quibus oblectareris.

Quis est, qui rebus in istis voluptatem esse Curialibus credat? quis non potius pœnam ingentem, cruciatumque maximum recognoscat? An non similimum est hoc tormentum illi, quod Poëtae finxerunt de Tantalo,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Unto the torment of wretched Tantalus,
 Which as saide Faustus, whose saying I may thinke,
 In floud and fruites may neither eate nor drinke:
 Auncient Poetes this Tantalus do fayne 905
 In hell condemned to suffer such payne,
 That vp to the chin in water doth he stande,
 And to his vpper lip reache apples a thousande,
 But when he would drinke, the water doth descende,
 And when he would eate, the apples do ascende. 910
 So both fruite and water them keepeth at a stent,¹
 In middes of pleasures² haue courtiers like torment.
 But nowe to the table for to retourne agayne,
 There haste thou yet another grieuous payne:
 That when other talke and speake what they will, 915
 Thou dare not whisper, but as one dombe be still.
 And if thou ought speake priuy or apert,
 Thou art to busy, and called malepert.
 If thou call for ought by worde, signe or becke,
 Then Iacke with the bush³ shal taunt thee with a chek.⁴ 920
 One reacheth thee bread with grutch and murmuring,
 If thou of some other demaunde any thing,
 He hath at thy asking great scorne and disdayne,
 Because that thou sittest while he standeth in payne.
 Sometime the seruantes be blinde and ignoraunt, 925
 And spye not what thing vpon the borde doth want.
 If they see a fault they will it not attende,
 By negligent scorne disdayning it to mende.

qui nec in aquis bibere nec in pomis edere potest, quamuis ad mentum vsque vtraque sibi pertingant?

Quid quod in mensa Princeps assiduè fabulatur, atque tacenda, dicendaque fatur; cum tu nec loqui nec hiscere audeas. Nam si fortè mutire præsumseris, aut nutu aliquid significare, quasi casus⁵ per plantas educeris forâs, ac vel latro, vel fur vocaberis, vel adulter.

Maxima quæque, domus (vt Iuuenalis ait) *seruis est plena superbis.* (Sat. 5.)

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Sometime thou wantest eyther bread or wine,
But nought dare thou aske if thou should neuer dine. 930
Demaunde salt, trencher, spone, or other thing,
Then art thou importune, and euermore crauing:
And so shall thy name be spread to thy payne,
For at thee shall all haue scorne and disdayne.
Sometime art thou yrked of them at the table, 935
But muche more art thou of the seruing rable.
The hungry seruers which at the table stande
At euery morsell hath eye vnto thy hande,
So much on thy morsell distract is their minde,
They gape when thou gapest, oft biting the winde. 940
Because that thy leauinges is onely their part,
If thou feede thee well sore griued is their heart.
Namely of a dish costely and deyntheous,
Eche pece that thou cuttest to them is tedious.
Then at the cupborde one doth another tell, 945
See howe he feedeth like the deuill of hell.
Our part he eateth, nought good shall we tast,
Then pray they to God that it be thy last.

Coridon

I had leuer Cornix go supperlesse to bed,
Then at such a feast to be so bested. 950
Better is it with chese and bread one to fill,

Ille panem magno cum murmure porrigit; ille indignatur quod se aliquid poscas, & quod, se stante, recumbas. Aut non vident famuli defectum mensæ, aut, si vident, negligunt emendare. Sæpe tibi vinum, vel panis deerit, nec tamen aliquid istorum poscere audebis. Si vel aquam, vt vinum domes, vel acetum, vt piscem mergas, vel sal, vt carnes aspergas, vnquam petieris, importunus diceris.

Enumero tibi sedentium tedia; sed maiora illorum sunt, qui stantes seruiunt, & quoties aliquid mordet, ipsi tecum hiant, & aërem solum capiunt, qui solis pascentur cœnarum reliquijs. Sed accipe molestias alias.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then with great dayntie, with anger and ill will.
Or a small handfull with rest and sure pleasaunce,
Then twenty dishes with wrathfull countenance.

Cornix

That can Amintas recorde and testify,	955
But yet is in court more payne and misery.	
Brought in be dishes the table for to fill,	
But not one is brought in order at thy will.	
That thou would haue first and louest principall	
Is brought to the borde oft times last of all.	960
With bread and rude meat when thou art sariate,	
Then commeth dishes moste sweete and delicate.	
Then must thou eyther despise them vtterly,	
Or to thy hurt surfet, ensuing gluttony.	
Or if it' fortune, as seldome doth befall,	965
That at beginning come dishes best of all,	
Or thou haste tasted a morsell or twayne,	
Thy dish out of sight is taken soone agayne.	
Slowe be the seruers in seruing in alway,	
But swift be they after, taking thy meate away.	970
A speciall custome is vsed them among,	
No good dish to suffer on borde to be longe,	
If the dishe be pleasaunt, eyther fleshe or fishe,	

Sunt in Curia diuersæ dapes. Nam raro minus quatuor ferculis cœna paratur. At ista nunquam, vt optares, ex ordine dabuntur. Semper quod vltimū velles, erit primū, cum pane satur, & vrsi plenus dorso fueris: tunc tibi cibaria meliora porrigentur, vel vt stomachatus renuas, vel ad crapulam, cū tuo maximo damno, comedas. Quod si quis casus meliores epulas initio mensæ concesserit, mox ille ex oculis auferentur. Est enim magna ministris diligentia, ne diutius res preciosiores esse in mensa permittant. Nam & in ponendo tardiusculi, & in leuando celerrimi sunt.

Aspice insuper, in Paropside quot manus enatant circa carnes? quot cultelli festinant? quale periculum

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Ten handes at once swarme in the dishe.
And if it be flesh, ten kniues shalt thou see 975
Mangling the flesh and in the platter flee:
To put there thy handes is perill without fayle,
Without a gauntlet or els a gloue of mayle.
Among all these kniues thou one of both must haue,
Or els it is harde thy fingers whole to saue: 980
Ofte in such dishes in court is it seene.
Some leaue their fingers, eche knife is so kene.
On a¹ finger gnaweth some hasty glutton,
Supposing it is a piece of biefe or mutton.²
Beside these in court mo paynes shalt thou see, 985
At borde men be set as thicke as they may be.
The platters shall passe oft times to and fro,
And ouer the shoulders and head shall they go.
And oft all the broth and licour fat
Is spilt on thy gowne, thy bonet and thy hat. 990
Sometime art thou thrust for litle rowme and place,
And sometime thy felowe reboketh in thy face.
Betwene dish and dish is tary tedious,
But in the meane time thogh thou haue payne greuous,
Neyther mayest thou rise, cough, spit or neese, 995
Or take other easement, least thou thy name may lese.
For such as this wise to ease them are wont,

illic manum apponere, nisi quis Chirothecam ferream receperit? Sicut apud Strigoniensem Archiepiscopum, illum, qui ante præsentem secundus fuit, Florentinum quendam fecisse commemorant. Contigit enim, vt nonnunquam alienum quis digitum, vel portiunculam manus, acceperit, atque momorderit, vituli carnem, vel bouis existimans.

Mensæ in Curijs vndique circumdantur edentibus. Cibaria supra caput tuum, & humeros afferuntur, sæpeque super te ius totum effunditur. Hic te premit, is raptat, & in faciem tuam vomit. Inter ferculum & ferculum magna fit mora, tempusque longum expectando

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In number of rascoldes courtiers them count.
 Of meate is none houre, nor time of certentie,
 Yet from beginning absent if thou be, 1000
 Eyther shalt thou lose thy meat and kisse the post,¹
 Or if by fauour thy supper be not lost,
 Thou shalt at the least way rebukes soure abide
 For not attending and fayling of thy tide.
 Onions or garlike, which stamped Testilis,² 1005
 Nor yet sweete leekes mayst thou not eate ywis.

Coridon

What, forsake garlike, leekes, and butter sweete?
 Nay, rather would I go to Ely on my feete:
 We count these deynties and meates very good,
 These be chiefe dishes, and rurall mens foode. 1010

Cornix

Who court frequenteth must loue the dishes sweete,
 And lordes dishes to him are nothing mete.
 As for our meates, they may not eate I thinke,
 Because great Lordes may not abide the stinke.
 But yet the lordes siege and rurall mens ordure 1015
 Be like of sauour for all their meates pure.
 As for common meates, of them pleasure is small,
 Because one seruice of them continuall
 Allayeth pleasure, for voluptuositie
 Will haue of dishes chaunge and diuersitie. 1020
 And when thou haste smelled meate more delicious,

consumitur; cum interim nec spuere, nec screare potes,
 nisi scurrarum numero velis haberi.

Numquam certa comedendi est hora. Si tamen in ipso
 mensæ initio non affueris, cœna mulctaberis, aut iurgijs
 afficeris acerbis. Inter hæc nec porrum, neque cepe,
 neque allium, quia venenum ab Oratio dicitur, comedere
 poteris. Nec igitur quæ Principes edunt; nam illa tuum
 ventrem dedignantur: nec quæ Rustici vorant, quia
 fœtorem Domini ingerunt, gustare permitteris.

Crassis igitur illis, & nullo sapore conditis vteris

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thy course dayly fare to thee is tedious.	
Nowe iudge Coridon if herein be pleasour,	
Me thinke it anguish, sorowe and dolour,	
Continuall care and vtter misery,	1025
Affliction of heart, and wretched penury.	B iv
But many fooles thinke it is nothing so,	
While they see courters outwarde so gayly go.	
The coursers ¹ seruauntes cloth, siluer and golde,	
And other like thinges delite they to beholde:	1030
But nought they regarde the inward misery	
Which them oppresseseth in court continually.	
And as saith Seneca, some count them fortunate,	
Which outwarde appere well clothed or ornate.	
But if thou behelde their inwarde wretchednes,	1035
Their dayly trouble, their fruitlesse busynes:	
Then would thou count them both vile and miserable,	
Their rowme and office both false and disceyuable.	
For like as men paynt olde walles ruinous,	

dapibus. In quibus si voluptas esset aliqua, cessaret tamen, quia continuæ sunt, & immutabiles:

*Namque voluptates (vt Iuuenalis affirmat)
commendat rarior vsus. (Sat II.)*

At in his rebus tantum deest, vt gaudium aliquod intercedat, vt malè iudicare non existimem, qui summam in eis miseriam, summamque cordis afflictionem posuerit.

Sed stultum atque imperitum vulgus hæc tædia non animaduertit, solumque suspensas auro vestes, ac sublimes respicit in equis milites. Et cum opes, argentum, aurum, famulorum cateruas, & ornatum exteriorem intuetur, misérias interiores nequaquam considerat. At Seneca, summa prudentia vir, Isti, inquit, quos pro felicibus aspicitis, si non quæ cernuntur, sed quæ latent videritis, Miseri sunt, sordidi, turpes, ad similitudinem suorum parietum, extrinsecus culti.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So be they paynted, their life contrarious, 1040
And therefore all they which serue in court gladly
For taste or smelling, or spice of gluttony,
Haue life¹ more wretched then Burges or merchant,
Which with their wiues haue loue and life pleasant.
Shepherdес haue not so wretched liues as they, 1045
Though they liue poorely on cruddes, chese and whey,
On apples, plummes, and drinke clere water deepe,
As it were lordes reigning among their sheepe.
The wretched lazар with clinking of his bell
Hath life which doth the courters life excell. 1050
The caytif begger hath meate and libertie,
When courters hunger in harde captiuitie.
The poore man beggeth nothing hurting his name,
As touching courters, they dare not beg for shame.
And an olde Prouerbe is sayde by men moste sage, 1055
That oft yonge courters be beggers in their age.
Thus all those wretches which do the court frequent,
Bring not to purpose their mindes nor intent.
But if their mindes and will were sariate,
They are not better thereby nor fortunate. 1060
Then all be fooles (concluding with this clause)
Which with glad mindes vse courting for such cause.

Coridon

Nowe truely Cornix, right plainly hast thou tolde

Quo fit, vt Curialibus, qui propter irritamenta gulæ,
Principibus seruiunt, nedū ciues priuatos, qui cum
iucunda cōinge, inter dulces liberos, castè ac parcè
comedunt; vel Ruricolas, qui medias inter oues, casta-
neas molles, & mitia poma, cum lacte, vorantes, nitidi
fluminis vndas exhauriunt; sed ipsos quoque, qui in
crepidinibus petrarum, vel in pontibus, vel ad Ecclesi-
arum valuas mendicant, sine cunctatione præponam.
Cum illis nec ex sententia succedat quod appetūt, nec,
si successerit, meliores propterea beatioresve fiant. Sunt
igitur omnes stulti, qui ob has causas in regium famu-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Of court and courtiers the paynes manyfolde.
And as I suppose there can no more remayne, 1065
Thy wit and counsell hath rid me fro great payne.
If I had plentie of treasure and riches,
I should or I went rewarde thy busynes:
But nede oft hurteth good maners commendable.

Cornix

What man would¹ gladly geue that is not able? 1070
But one abounding in treasure and riches
Is ware in geuing, or yet to make promes.
Thy will is ynough sith that thy store is thin,
I aske of the foxe no farther then the skin.²
But longe is to night, therfore I shall gladly: 1075

Coridon

What, more yet declare of courtly misery?
Thou haste tolde ynough by all these crosses ten
Almoste for to choke vp³ a thousand men.

Cornix

That I promised, right would I should fulfill,
Yet more shall I touche if thou can holde thee still, 1080
I saide first that some (but they be sown thin)
Resort vnto the court, there soules for to win.
For with great princes while suche men remayne,
They thinke by counsell, by busynes and payne
Chiefely to labour for the vtilitie 1085
Of diuers causes touching the commontie.
Poore men supporting, and children fatherlesse,
And helping widowes also in their distresse,
So much more wening to please our Lord therby,

latum sese recipiunt.

Cæterum cum ab initio dixerimus, quosdam esse,
qui tanquam ANIMÆ consulturi, Regalibus sese de-
dunt obsequijs (Existimant enim consulendo Regibus,
vtilitatem Reip. promouendo, pupilli & viduarum tu-
endo causas, afflictis & inopibus succurrendo, tanto
magis Deo placere, quanto maiore tædio ista peragut)

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Because they contende in payne and ieopardy. 1090
Of these must I cure the mindes ignoraunt,
Which be more fooles then all the remnaunt.
All if they repute themselfe neuer so sage,
Yet shall I proue them selues stuffed with dotage.

Coridon

Declare that Cornix, that fayne would I heare, 1095
We haue time ynough, yet doth the sunne appere.

Cornix

Of this foresaide sort scant any finde we shall,
But that requireth some lucre temporall:
But neuerthelesse, now fayne we such a one
Which seeketh in court for no promotion, 1100
But onely intende there soules for to win,
And as a champion to fight against sinne.
Should wise men suppose in court so to preuayle?
Lost is their labour, their study and trauayle.
Or should a good man which loueth honestie 1105
Put him in thraldome or in captiuitie
Of princes seruice, his soule to win thereby?
Say men what them list, me thinketh the contrary.
For in court required, so many a sinne and vice,
And so many wayes from vertue to attice, 1110
And so many meanes leading to viciousnes,

respondendum est etiam his; Ne, qui stultiores sunt
alijs, sapientiores omnibus videantur.

Quamuis neminē adhuc cognouerim, qui non suum
aliquod temporale, commodum apud Reges insectaretur:
Fingamus tamen aliquem fore, quem sola salutis
Animæ ratio moueat. An ita est, vt hoc in Curia sibi
possit obtinere? Consulemusne nos viro bono, in obse-
quio vt se Regis immergat? Putabimusne sic animā
lucresieri? Mihi, hercule, non fit verisimile, in Curijs
Principum, vbi tot vitia regnant, vbi tot irritamenta ab
exercitio virtutum subducunt, virum aliquem bonum
posse perseuerare.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That there may a man scant bide in his goodnes.
For as a bad horse resty and flinging,
Oft casteth a man though he be well sitting:
In like maner, wise man and rightwise¹ 1115
Resorting to court, descendeth vnto vice,
All if his reason and wil² also deny,
In court hath the fende such fraude and pollicie,
By meane that vices haue there no punishment,
For lust and suffraunce make mindes insolent. 1120
But sinne and sinners lye dayly so in wayte
Against good liuing to lay their deadly bayte,
That the best liuers from way of grace decline,
By their occasion impelled to ruine:
He falleth in rockes and perill consequent 1125
By force of tempest and windes violent.

Coridon

What man, in court is neither rocke nor sande,
Diffusely thou speakest to vnderstande.

Cornix

I speake in parable, or by similitude,
Who not perceaueth, his reason is but rude: 1130
But mate Coridon, I tell thee before
That what I shall say or yet haue close in store:
Of diuers aucthours I learned of Codrus,
And he it learned of Shepherde Siluius.
This Codrus sayde that Plato the great sage 1135
Of Athens³ court aduerting the outrage,
Purposed⁴ rather to flee to solitude,

Nanque vt Sessor bonus in equo retrogrado, vel calcitroso excutietur, dilabeturque tandem; Sic vir bonus & iustus apud Reges diffluet; vel imminutus rerum licentia ac luxu, & tot immundicijs tum viciorum, tum hominum circumuentus, declinabit a via, & in scopulos ruet, ventorum viribus actus & tempestatu. Quodcum Plato in Atheniensi Curia perspexisset, fugere potius statuit, quam inter tot viciorum inquinamenta morari.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then liue in honour among such vices rude.
Then knowe well thy selfe whatsoeuer thou be
Which to sue the court haste thy felicitie. 1140
And note if thy selfe be better then Plato,
Note well the power, if thou haue will also
As well as Plato, ill custome to refrayne,
If thou so thinkest, thou thinkest thing in vayne.
In court must a man sayle after euery winde, 1145
Himselfe conforming to euery mans minde.
Serue euery season, conforme him to the time,
Be common with mo, though it be in some crime.
He must rule nature, and yet he¹ wot not whither,
After the season, nowe hither and nowe thither. 1150
And in his maner he must direct his life,
With heuy persons him must he shewe pensife.
With men at leasure which will them recreate,
He must be iocunde after their vse and rate.
With aged persons he must him haue sadly, 1155
With youth behaue him iocunde and meryly.
With auenterous men which seke on crueltie
He must shewe him bolde² and of audacitie.
With liuers beastly, insuing carnall lust,
Liue lecherously forsooth he needes must. 1160
And who so refuseth, then is his nature wronge,
He shall not in the court rise nor continue longe.
But Coridon thou might obiect vnto me more,

Cognoscito igitur teipsum, qui sequi Curiam statuis,
& an Platone sis maior, animaduertito; an virium plus
tibi, quam illi sit, ad resistendum male consuetudini.
Oportet in Curijs obsequi omnibus, cōmunicare quod
habet, seruire temporibus, versare naturam, & tegere,
Nec non teipsum huc & illuc torquere & flectere: Cum
tristibus seuere, cum remissis iucunde, cum senibus
grauiter, cum iuuenibus comiter, cum facinorosis aud-
acter, cum libidinosi luxoriose viuere: quod nisi feceris,
nec magnus in Curia, nec diuturnus esse poteris.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That the sayde Plato which fled from court before
Came long while after, and was in seruice 1165
Of Dionisius the tiraunt of Silice.

It is as thou sayest, but harken to the ende:
This tirauntes vice while he did reprehende,
All if the tiraunt counted¹ his name diuine,
As vnder colour to folowe his doctrine, 1170

The cruell tiraunt his malice to fulfill,
Solde this same Plato maugre his minde and will.
But thus intreated was Plato not alone,
The wrath of princes proued haue many one,
And namely of such as wisest were ywis, 1175
As Zenon muredred by tiraunt Phalaris:

His godly wisdom, nor honour of his age
Could him not succoure, so did the tiraunt rage.
Arracreontes (sometime of Cipres king)
Slewe Anaxagoras for all his great cunning. 1180
And by commaundement of Theodoricus
Without all mercy was slayne² Boecius.

Coridon

These be farre matters, and thinges very olde.

Cornix

Euen such they be, as Codrus to me tolde.
And yet many mo he counted to me playne 1185

Sed replicabis mihi fortasse, illū ipsum Platonem,
quem fugisse Curiam, superius scripsi, posterius tamē
ad Dionysium, Siciliae Tyrannum, peruenisse; illique
seruisse. Sic est, vt ais. Sed vide, quid obtigerit.
Nanque vocatus ab illo, per doctrine speciem, cum Tyr-
anni vicia corripuisset, Tyranni fraude venundatus est.

Nec is solus ex sapientibus iram Principis expertus
est. Nam & Zenonem Philosophum, senem admodum,
Phalaris Tyrannus omni cruciatus genere dilacerauit.
Anaxagoras nobilis Philosophus, ab Anacreunte,³ Cy-
priorum Rege, occisus est. Boëtius iussu Theodorici
Regis interiit. Longa morā esset, si, quos viros bonos

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Of worthy clearkes, whom fell princes haue slayne.
But all to recount me thinke it is not best,
That asketh leasure, the Sunne is nere at rest.
Scant time remayneth to tell that is beside,
Except we purpose here all the night abide. 1190

Coridon

Late at our Church alley' syr Sampson to me tolde
A tale of Moses and other Prophetes olde,
Howe the same Moyses, and many of like sort
To Princes courtes did often time resort.
He saide that Moses though he of tonge were rude 1195
Left his whole flocke behinde in solitude,
And he with Aaron together both did go
On Gods message vnto king Pharao.
Also syr Sampson recounted vnto me
A like narration of Prophete Helise. 1200
But Cornix, my minde is muche obliuious,
And longe historyes to heare be tedious.

Cornix

As touching Moyses, and many Prophetes mo,
I graunt they were wont to princes for to go:
These men were godly, it folly were to say 1205
That all men should haue such priuiledge as they.
These were messengers of God of Israell,
And finde can we not that they in court did dwell.
But when they had sayde Gods commaundement,
They left both court and Princes incontinent. 1210
Joseph alonely² abode with Pharao,
Thordinaunce of God had erst disposed so,

necari Principes iusserint, enumerare voluerim.

Nec mihi quispiam vel Moysen, vel Helyseum, vel
alium quempiam Philosophorum commemorauerit;
quasi et sibi liceat, quod viris diuinis permissum ex-
titit. Nec enim cum Regibus illi manserunt, sed functi
legatione, quam Deus eis mandauerat, abierunt. Solus
Ioseph apud Pharaonem moratus est, quem ordinatio

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To helpe his nation in time after to come
 By his prouision and maruelous wisdomē.
 I graunt thee also Mauricius and Martine, 1215
 Sebastian, George and other men diuine
 Serued in court, and vsed chiualry,
 And neuerthelesse they liued holyly.
 But this Mauricius did christned become,
 And with his legion receyued martirdome. 1220
 Likewise Saynt George and Saynt Sebastian
 Despising ydoles which courtes vsed then,
 Suffered harde death by manifolde torment,
 For loue and true fayth of God omnipotent.
 But during the time, these did in the court remayne, 1225
 No names of Saintes men gaue to them certayne.
 And holy Martin when he was come to age
 Gaue ouer the court, and fixed his courage
 In Gods seruice, remaying stedfastly,
 For he perceyued and knewe right perfitly, 1230
 That of poore widowes and children fatherlesse,
 The cause not entreth into the court doubtlesse,
 Their matters quealeth, for solde is all Iustice,
 And euery speeche of ribaudry and vice:
 Also in courtes of mercy found is nought, 1235
 And of religion no zeale if it were sought.
 Enuy posseseth the place of charitie
 Onely ambition hath there auctoritie.

diuina, pro salute populi, illuc transmiserat, et venundatio fraterna. Fatebor & Mauricium & Martinum militasse, ac Principibus seruiuisse; sed ille quamprimum Christianus cognitus est, cum tota mox legione Thebea truncatus est capite: Hic vt vir factus est, & regia castra dimisit, & in obsequium Dei se sequestrauit. Sciebat enim vir sanctus quia pupillorum & viduarum caussa ad Principes nō egrediuntur. Quia nunquā apud Reges caussa pauperum defenditur; quia venalis est omnis Iusticia; quia impudicus est omnis sermo, quia nulla misericordia, nullus Religionis Zelus, nulla caritas,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

These vices to resist passeth humane doctrine,
Man they ouercome, except wisdomē diuine. 1240
If God do not succoure, it passeth mans might
With such occasion continually to fight.
This knewe Saint Martin by sight continuall,
Yet nought him moued by helpe celestiall.
And though he liued in court right holyly, 1245
He would no lenger insue that chiuallry:
Nor leaue example to other men to come,
To liue where reyneth no vertue nor wisdomē.
As when it was asked of Christ our Sauour,
What should a man do of penaunce or labour, 1250
Or other deedes to win eternall blisse,
He bad^t not a man runne to the court ywisse,
He saide not: go folowe a prince, or Lorde or King,
But go sell thy riches and other wordly thing:
Despise all the world and worldly vanitie, 1255
For so haue I done, then come and folowe me.
In this cause our Lorde hath made no mention
Of folowing the court for vayne promotion.
Then let men take heede though they be vertuous,
Least while they folowe a thing so perillous, 1260
In court supposing their soules for to win,
Least there they lose them by falling into sinne,

sed inuidia & ambitio tantummodo dominatur. Quibus
obsistere, fortissimi fuerit, & plus diuina quam humana
sapientia.

Et quamuis esset Martinus ipse sanctissimus, posset-
que sua virtute superare maliciam; amplius tamen
militiam nec per se voluit sequi, nec alijs imitandam suo
exemplo demonstrare.

Nec Saluator noster CHRISTVS, interrogatus quid
faciendū esset, ad vitam consequēdam, vade dixit, &
Regibus seruito: Sed vade, inquit, & vende omnia, que
habet, & sequere me: non Principem, non Regem,
sed me; non Curiam, sed me inquam sequere.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For there be snares and giles infinite,
The fende is ready occasion to excite.
In euery corner some enuy shalt thou mete, 1265
And stumbling stones lye hid before thy fete.
Full harde it is there ambition to refrayne,
Auarice to slake it is a great payne.
To tame enuy, and wrath to mitigate,
And in occasion vnclenlynes to hate. 1270
Harde is it dayly to be amonge these same,
And none of them all thy pleasure to inflame.
But if there be any which can his lust subdue,
Amonge all vices to kepe them in vertue,
As a precious stone cleane in the middes of mire, 1275
Or lye in flames not griued with the fire:
Or touche soft pitche and not his fingers file.
If such one be founde within a thousand mile,
I will not denye but that he may well sue
After court, and folowe, not hurting his vertue: 1280
So much more merite shall such a man procure,
Howe much more he doth of ieopardie indure.
But this is my minde and sure opinion,
That such as resort vnto the court eche one
Be rather ouercome by sinne and viciousnes, 1285
Then they can vices vanquish and repres:

Videas igitur tibi, vir bone, qui propter Animā sequeris Curiam, ne propter Curiam illam perdas: quia multi sunt ibi laquei, multa offendicula, multę insidie Demonum. Durū est ambitionem frenare, auariciam com̄pescere, inuidiam domare, iram cohibere, luxuriam coartare, dū semper inter ista verſeris.

Si quis tamen a Deo sibi creditum talentum nouit, vincere vt ista possit; & tanquam Sol immaculatus in luto versari; Si potest picem tangere, & ab ea non inquinari; si potest ignē ingredi & non vri: non illum Curiam sequi prohibeo. Nam meritum tanto grandius assequetur quanto periculosius militauit. Sed persua-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For man of his nature is apt to sinne and vice,
 And with great hardnes doth vertue exercise.
 Example of children, which if they haue their will
 Be lesse disposed to goodnes then to ill. B v 1290
 I heard Minalcas sing this vnto his drone,
 That Scripture sayth that mankinde is [more] prone,^t
 In youth and age his pleasure to insue,
 In easy lustes then hardnes of vertue.
 Therefore I counsell thy selfe my Coridon, 1295
 Amintas, Codrus and shepherdes eche one.
 And all of other men which will them saue fro hell,
 That none of them all presume with court to mell.
 For there is the soule in ieopardie by crime,
 And after life is lost by surfet or due time. 1300
 And eyther must a man vnto his prince assent,
 Laugh at his vices and be with them content.
 Then lost is thy soule, els his faultes blame,
 Then shalt thou his ire against thee inflame.
 As Cirus the King sometime of Persy lande 1305
 Had one Arpolus chiefe frende of a thousand:
 Because Arpolus once blamed his offence,
 The wrathful tiraunt by mad maliuolence
 Caused Arpolus vnwarely at a feaste
 To eate his children as they like meate were drest. 1310

sum est mihi, neminem esse, qui Curiaē seruiendo non
 potius vincatur a vicijs, quam vicia vincat. Dociles imi-
 tandis, vt Iuuenalis verba recenseam, turpibus ac prauis
 omnes sumus.

In Genesi quoque diuinum Oraculum est in hunc
 modum: *Sensus & cogitatio humani Cordis, in malum prona
 sunt ab adolescentia sua.* Non suaserim igitur vlli in Curijs
 immorandum. Nam & Anima, vt dixi, discrimini magno
 supponitur, & vita sepe ante tempus amittitur. Quoniam
 vel Principum desiderio fauebis, ac vltro suis vicijs arri-
 debis, & animam perdidisti: vel increpabis malos mores,
 accusabisque scelera; & inde iram Principis experieris.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And thus Arpolus to his children was a graue:
For blaming thy prince such reward mayest thou haue.
Right so Cambises in hastie furour slewe
The sonne of his frend which was to him most true,
Because that his frende him blamed for dronkennes. 1315
Of such examples be many mo doubtlesse.

Coridon

I haue heard Codrus oft times testify
Howe Aristotle prince of Philosophy
Sued the tentes with laude and honour
Of Alexander the mighty conqueror. 1320

Cornix

Thou litle knowest what caused him do so,
Or if he freely had libertie to go,
Truely I suppose it was against his heart
And that he might not at libertie depart.
But many other right worthy hye honour 1325
Also insued^r that mightie conquerour.
As Calistenes of hye discretion,
And also Crito, which was his nurses sonne.
And bolde Lichimachus folowed him in fight,
Which was a Philosopher and eke a worthy Knight. 1330
And many mo els that I can count or tell:
But heare Coridon what vnto these befell.

Cyrus, Persarum Rex, Arpalo familiari suo, admodum ante caro, ob reprehensum in se vicium, filios epulandos in conuiuio dedit. Cambyses eiusdem ex Carissimis, qui se de ebrietate corripuerat filiu sagitta transfixit. Nec tu mihi Aristotelem obijcias, summum Philosophum, Alexandri Magni castra sequentem. Nescis enim qua voluptate hoc egerit, & an sibi libertas fuerit aliter faciendi.

At secuti sunt Alexandrum complures alij: Calisthenes Philosophus, Clitus frater collectaneus, Lysimachus miles, & Philosophus insignis. Calisthenes dum adorari more Persico Alexandrum prohibet, trun-

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For that Calistenes forbad men to honour
Great Alexander as God of moste valour,
After such custome as was in Persy lande, 1335
Therefore had he cut from body foote and hande,
His nose and eares off trenched were also,
His eyne out digged for to increase his wo:
Then by commaundement of the conquerour
Was thrust into prison to bide in more dolour, 1340
Enduring his life there euer to remayne:
But when Lisimachus for to make short this payne
Reached him poyson, his cruell conquerour
Made him be throwen to lyons to deuour.
And at a banket (as erst was touched playne) 1345
By Alexander was the saide Crito slayne,
For blaming of him, because that he did blame
His fathers deedes, Philippus by his name.
Therefore Coridon, after my iudgement,
And as I beleue, thou wilt thereto assent. 1350
They all be fooles which sue to court so sore,
For all such causes as touched are before.
Or to win soules be there content to serue,
Their owne soule putting in daunger for to sterue:
For eyther do they seeke and hunt about in vayne, 1355

catis manibus & pedibus, effossis oculis, & auribus amputatis, miserā vitam in carcere ducere cogeatur. Cui cum Lysimachus, in remedium ærumnarum, venenum obtulisset, Leoni obiectus est. Clito, cum Alexandrum, Philippi patris laudibus detrahentem, redarguisset, ab eodem, vt supra retuli, in conuiuio est occisus.

Sunt igitur stulti, meo iudicio; &, vt arbitrator, tuo Iohannes amantissime, & qui propter superiores causas, & qui propter Animæ lucrum, seruitia Principum amplectuntur. Quoniam, vel quod quærunt, non inueniunt, vel per viam spinosam & ancipitem pergunt; Cum ad finem, quem cupiunt, tutissimis possint, & quietissimis itineribus proficisci.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And their desires there shall they not obtayne,
Or that thing they seeke, which shall do them damage,
Els be they throwen in suche a blinde dotage,
That of two wayes they chose moste ieopardous,
All full of thornes and busynes perillous, 1360
All if they might well to their desire attayne
By way more easy, more short and voyde of payne.

Coridon

O maruelous matter, and well brought to an ende,
I can not be able thy reason to commende,
Nor yet to rewarde the thing that thou haste done, 1365
Though I had riches and wit like Salomon.
Thou haste me saued by counsell sapient
Out of hell mouth and manyfolde torment.
But nowe is it time to drawe to our cotage,
The day is ended, right so is our language. 1370

FINIS

Thus endeth the seconde Egloge of the misery of
courtes and courtiers.

Esset ergo iam satisfactum his, quæ ab initio propo-
suimus; possemque iam Epistolam claudere; sed sunt
adhuc aliæ quâplures molestiæ Curialium, de quibus nō
erit ab re, quam breuiter meminisse.

Here beginneth the thirde and last Egloge of the
misery and behauour of Court and Courtiers.

Coridon

After sore labour sweete rest is delectable,
And after long night day light is comfortable,
And many wordes requireth much drinke,
The throte wel washed, then loue the eyn to wink.
This night with me it proued otherwise, 5
I dranke to bedwarde (as is my common gise:)
But suche rest had I till it was on the morne,
As had my mother the night that I was borne.

Cornix

Of that I maruayle, for thou art wont alway
To sleepe and to snort till time that it be day. 10
But howe happened this, nowe tell me Coridon,
That thou had this night so sore vexation.

Coridon

I was so drenched with dreames, a dread so sore,
I trowe neuer man was troubled so before.
Me thought in the court I taken was in trap, 15
And there sore handled, God geue it an ill hap.
Me thought the scullians like fendes of their lookes
Came some with whittels,¹ some other with fleshhokes.
Me thought that they stooode eche one about me thicke
With kniues ready for to flay me quicke. 20
So had I (sleeping) as much of feare and dreade,
As I should (waking) haue lost my skin in deede.
With such a vision I troubled was all night,
Wherefore I ioyed what time I sawe day light.
For as soone as euer I heard the birdes peepe, 25
For feare of dreames no lenger durst I sleepe:
But start fro my bed, as lightly was I prest,²
Almoste as a birde out flyeth³ from her nest.
So caught I my male, my bottell⁴ and my hooke,
And forth with my flocke anone my way I tooke. 30
But tell me Cornix I pray thee heartyly,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

What thing this my dreame may note and signify.

Cornix

I drede least some one fulfilled with ill will
Hath heard our talking, and it reported ill.
Which may vs after cause rather weepe then sing, 35
For ill will maketh the worst of euery thing.
But then doth one thing well comfort me agayne,
Forst men are wont of that to dreame certayne
Wherewith their mindes in walking troubled be:
A strawe for dreames, they be but vanitie. 40
And as for me, I no man discommende,
If scabbed¹ clawe, the truth shall me defende.
But how Coridon, thy head is in thy lap,
What nowe so early beginnest thou to nap?

Coridon

Who hath not slept nor rested all the night 45
Must slepe by day, els shall his brayne be light.
But Cornix, if thou list me for to keepe and wake,
Talke of some matters agayne for Gods sake.
For so shall the time ouerpasse with litle payne,
God knoweth when we shall mete after agayne, 50

Cornix

I graunt Coridon for recreation
Of court yet to haue more communication.

Coridon

All misery of court thou haste already tolde.

Cornix

Nay nay Coridon, not by a thousande folde:
We shall haue matter nere till this yeres ende 55
To talke of Courtes, if I might it intende.
But this one day of part well may we talke,
As for the other I force not, let it walke.

Coridon

Then sit downe Cornix, leane here against this banke,
As for our talking, we get but litle thanke. 60

Cornix

We get as muche almoste² as we deserue,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

I looke for no thanke, nor meate though I should sterue,
In court shall men finde yet many paynes mo,
Some shall I touche, let all the other go.
Because that of sleeping was our¹ first commoning, 65
Heare now what paynes haue courtiers in sleeping.
They oftentime sleepe full wretchedly in payne,
And lye all the night forth in colde winde and rayne.
Sometime in bare strawe, on bordes, ground or stones,
Till both their sides ake, and all their bones. 70
And when that one side aketh and is wery,
Then turne the other, lo here a remedy.
Or els must he rise and walke him selfe a space,
Till time his ioyntes be settled in their place.
But if it be fortune thou lye within some towne 75
In bed of fethers, or els of easy downe.
Then make thee ready for flyes and for gnattes,
For lise, for fleas, punaises,² mise and rattes.
These shall with biting, with stinking, din and sound
Make thee worse easement then if thou lay on ground. 80
And neuer in the court shalt thou haue bed alone,
Saue when thou wouldest moste gladly lye with one.
Thy shetes shalbe vnclene, ragged and rent,
Lothly vnto sight, but lothlyer to cent.
In which some other departed late before 85
Of the pestilence, or of some other sore.
Such a bedfelowe men shall to thee assigne,

Plurima inter DORMIENDVM sunt tædia. Sæpe
in asseribus dormiendum est; in paleis; in lapidibus,
nudoque solo, in vento, in pluuiâ, in frigoribus. Si
plumas fueris assecutus, ad Pediculos, Pulices, Culices,
& alias infinitas vel mordentes, vel teterrime fœtentes
bestiolas te præpara.

Nunquam solus dormies, nisi cum socium cuperes.
Linteamina immunda, fœtida, lacerata & quibus nuper-
rime pestilentia sunt mortui, tibi dabuntur.

Comes adiungetur scabiosus, qui se tota nocte fricabit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

That it was better to slepe among the swine.
So foule and scabbed, of harde pimples so thin,
That a man might grate hard crustes on his skin. 90
And all the night longe shall he his sides grate,
Better lye on grounde then lye with such a mate.
One cougheth so fast, anothers breath doth stinke,
That during the night scant mayest thou get a winke.
Sometime a leper is signed to thy bed, 95
Or with other sore one grievously bested.
Sometime thy bedfelowe is colder then is yse,
To him then he draweth thy cloathes with a trice.
But if he be hote, by feuers then shall he
Cast all the cloathes and couerlet on thee. B vj 100
Eyther is thy felowe alway to thee grievous,
Or els to him art thou alway tedious.¹
And sometime these courtiers them more to incumber,
Slepe all in one chamber nere twenty in number.
Then it is great sorowe for to abide their shoute, 105
Some fart, some flingeth, and other snort and route.
Some boke, and some bable, some commeth dronk to bed,
Some braule and some iangle when they be beastly fed.
Some laugh, and some crye, eche man will haue his wil,
Some spue, and some pisse, not one of them is still. 110
Neuer be they still till middes of the night,
And then some brawleth and for their beddes fight.
And oft art thou signed to lodge nere the stable,

Alius tussitabit, alius fœtido flatu te perurgebit. Interdum & leprosus tibi coniacebit. Alius frigidus est, & vestimenta ad se rapit; Alius Febre calidus, & lodicem cum omni tegmento supra te iacit. Semper vel ille tibi molestus erit, vel tu illi videberis tædiosus.

Dormitur frequenter in cōmuni, vbi vel X. vel XX. sunt, vbi vnus stertit, alter pedit; alius calceos iactitat: nunquam ante medium noctis est silentium. Veniunt Ebrij dormitum, confabulantur, garriunt, raptant, rixantur, pugnant, & se inuicem cædunt: Surgunt

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then there shalt thou heare of rascoldes a rable.
Sometime shalt thou heare howe they eche other smite, 115
The neying of the¹ horses, and howe eche other bite.
Neuer shalt thou knowe thy lodging or thy nest,
Till all thy betters be setled and at rest.
In Innes lie straungers and gestes many one,
Of courtiers liues make there conclusion. 120
And where they be knowen of neither man or wife,
Oft time Courtiers there ende their wretched life.
Then shall the hostler be their executour,
Or such other ribaude shall that was his deuour.
Making the Tapster come gay and feate, 125
His shirt, his doublet or bonet to excheate,
For fleshe that he bought and payde nought therefore,
Then is she extreame, for he shal come no more.
But in a common In if that thou lodge or lye,
Thou neuer canst lay² vp thy gere so priuily, 130
But eyther it is stollen or chaunged with a thought,
And for a good thou haste a thing of nought.
For some arrant³ thieues shall in the chamber lye,
And while thou sleepest they rise shall priuily:
All if thou thy pouche vnder thy pillowe lay, 135
Some one crafty searcher thereat shall haue assay.
Baudes and brothels, and flattering tapsters,
Iugglers and pipers, and scuruy wayfarers.⁴

mingentes. Sæpe apud stabula sunt cubicula tua, & equos fremitantes, vel se mordentes audis. Nunquam scies, vbi iacere debeas, nisi Domini dormitum iuerint.

Sunt in diuersorijs multi Aduene, multi ignoti; & vita Curialium plærunque in hospitij publicis statuitur: vbi continuo fures timendi, vel formidandi sicarij sunt: neque res tuas vnquam tam diligenter custodies, quin aliquid detractum reperias. Nam & ipsi fures in thalamo tuo dormient, & te sopito assurgent, resque tuas sub te quoque iacentes eripient.

Assunt Meretrices, Ancillæ, Lenones, Ioculatores,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Flatterers and hostlers, and other of this sect
Are busy in thy chamber, chatting with none effect. 140
With brauling they enter first pagiant to play,¹
That nought mayest thou here what wiser men do say.
Such is their shouting that scantly thou mayst here,
The secrete felowe, which by thy side is nere.
But rurall flimmers,² and other of our sort 145
Unto thy lodging, or court when they resort,
They chat, they bable, and all but of the wombe,
More pert and more pieuish then they wold be at home.
Though thou would slepe, induring all the night,
Some sing, some mourne, their lemman out of sight. 150
Some sing of Bessy, and some of Nan or cate,
Namely when licour disturbed hath the pate.
The brothell³ boteman and wretched laborer
Ceasse not to singe, be vitayle neuer so dere.
Who can with such haue quietnes or rest, 155
But if thou with slepe at last be opprest,
And that sore labours to sleepe thee constrayne,
Rumour thee rayseth, and wakeneth agayne.
On morning when thou might sleepe moste quietly,
Then must thou arise there is no remedy. 160

Lusores, Parasiti, qui iurgia continuo proludunt: tantusque clamor exoritur, vt nedum dormire, sed nec qui prope te est loquentem socium intelligere queas. Adde loquacitatem eorum, qui nocte, quam longa est, nunquam quiescunt.

*Absentem cantat amicam, vt Flacus ait,
Multa prolutus vappa Nauta atque viator.*

(Horatius Sat. 5.)

Nulla dormienti quies datur. Quod si vnquā rumores & alia mala, somnus vinceret, ac oculos clandestine cœperis; è vestigio reuocaberis, & aliquo casu surgere compelleris. Credo te ista millies expertum, ideoque sum breuior.

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For what time thy Lorde vnto his horse is prest,
Then ought no seruaunt lye in his bed at rest.

Coridon

Nowe Cornix I see that with a brauling wife
Better were to bide continuuing my life,
And to heare children crying on euery side 165
Then thus in the court this clamour to abide.

Cornix

No doubt Coridon, but heare more misery,
Which in their lodging haue courtiers commonly.
Men must win the marshall or els herbegere,
With price or with prayer, els must thou stand arere. 170
And rewarde their knaues must thou if thou be able,
For to assigne thee a lodging tollerable.
And though they promise, yet shall they nought fulfill,
But poynt the place nothing after thy will.
Eyther nere a priuy, a stable or a sinke, 175
For cent and for clamour where thou can haue no wink.
After thy rewarde they shall thee so manace,
That malgre¹ thy teeth thou must resigne thy place.
And that to some one which is thy enemy,
If they be pleased there is no remedy. 180
But yet for certayne it were thing tollerable
To becke and to bowe to persons honorable.
As to the marshall, or yet the herbeget,
Or gentle persons which vnto them be nere.

Sed alia accipe, quæ inter HOSPITANDVM sunt
tēdia. Mareschallus orandus est, ac precio conducendus;
rogandique serui eius, & alliciendi muneribus, vt hos-
pitium tibi tolerabile præbeant. Quod si promiserint,
non tamen implebunt: teque vel in remotissimis locis,
vel in fœtidissimis Ganeis collocabunt. Interdum &
honestum locum, quem dedit, vt deseras, & alteri cedas,
minis & vi coget.

Sed esset tolerabile fortasse, Mareschallo caput in-
flectere, cuius est officium non inhonestum; at sordidos

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But this is a worke, a trouble and great payne, 185
Sometime must thou stoupe vnto a rude vilayne.
Calling him master, and oft clawe¹ his hande,
Although thou would see him wauer² in a bande.
For if thou liue in court, thou must rewarde this rable,
Cooke and scoliens, and farmers of the stable. 190
Butlers and Butchers, prouenders and Bakers,
Porters and poulers,³ and specially false takers.
On these and all like spare must thou none expence,
But mekely with mede bye their beneuolence.
But namely of all it is a grieuous payne 195
To abide the porter, if he be a vilayne.
Howe often times shall he the gates close
Against thy stomake, thy forehead or thy nose.
Howe oftentimes when thy⁴ one fote is in
Shall he by malice thrust thee out by the⁵ chin. 200
Sometime his staffe,⁶ sometime his clubbishe feete
Shal driue thee backward, and turne thee to the streete.
What he then sayth, comming if he sit,⁷
Howe often times shall he the gates shit.
For very pleasure and ioy of thy comming 205
The gate he closeth,⁸ lo here a pleasaunt thing.
All if thou haste well rewarded him before,
Without thou standest in rayne and tempest sore.
And in the meane time a rascolde or vilayne
Shall enter while thou art bathed in the rayne.⁹ 210

homines sequi, atque his supplicare, & offere pecuniam, grauissimum est. Nec tamen hoc potes effugere. Nam & Coquis, & Pistoribus, & Frumentarijs, & bladi vinique distributoribus, humiliare te conuenit, & ipsorum beneuolentiam emere. Quid Ostiarium referam? Heu quoties ille vlnas in pectus detrudet tuum? quoties te pugno, vel calce repellet? quoties, vbi te viderit venientem, portam, que patebat, statim concludet? Quoties te excluso, quamuis aurum dederis, vel Mimum, vel Scurram, vel Æmulum tuum intromittet? Quoties tibi vel

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Sometime the porter his malice shall excuse,
And say vnto thee thy labour to abuse:
That eyther is the Lorde asleepe or in counsell,
Then lost is thy labour, mispent is thy trauell.

Coridon

Of our poore houses men soone may knowe the gin,¹ 215
So at our pleasure we may go out and in.
If courtes be suche, me thinketh without doubt,
They best be at ease which so remayne without.
For better be without wet to the skin with rayne,
Then euer in court and liue in endlesse payne. 220
For if hell gates did not still open gape,
Then wretched soules great torment should escape.
Right so, if the court were close continually,
Some men should escape great payne and misery.
But Cornix procede, tell on of courtiers care. 225

Cornix

Well sayde Coridon, God geue thee well to fare.
Nowe would I speake of paynes of the warre,
But that me thinketh is best for to defarre.²
For if thy lorde in battayle haue delite
To sue the warre be paynes infinite. 230
For while he warreth thou mayest not bide at home,
Thy lust to cherishe, and pleasure of thy wombe.
To sue an army then haste thou wretched payne
Of colde or of heate, of thirst, hunger and rayne.
And mo other paynes then I will specify, 235
For nought is in warfar saue care and misery:
Murder and mischiefe, rapines and cowardise,
Or els crueltie, there reigneth nought but vice,
Which here to recounte were longe and tedious,
And to our purpose in parte contrarious. 240
Therefore let passe the warres misery,
The dredefull daungers and wretched penury,

dormire Principem, vel in consilio esse, vel ægrotare
mentitur.³

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And of these Cities talke we a worde or twayne,
 In which no man can liue auoyde of payne,
 For whither soeuert¹ he court remoue or flit 245
 All the vexations remoue alway with it.
 If thou for solace vnto the towne resorte,
 There shalt thou mete of men as bad a sorte,
 Which at thy clothing and thee shall haue disdayne,
 If thou be busy the club shall do thee payne, 250
 There be newe customes and actes in like wise,
 None mayst thou scorne, nor none of them despise,
 Then must thou eche day begin to liue anewe,
 [And do as they do, be it false or trew.²]*
 As for in Cities I will no more remayne, 255
 But turne my talking now to the court agayne,
 After of this may we haue communication
 Of cities and of their vexation.³
 Whether that thy lorde sit or yet stande erect
 Still muste thou stande or els shalt thou be chekt, 260
 Thy head and legs shall finde no rest nor ease:
 If thou in court intende alway to please
 Oft muste thou becke, still stande and euer bare
 To worse then thy selfe, which is a payne and care.
 What shall I common the pensiuenes and payne 265
 Of courtiers or they their wages can obtayne,
 Howe muche differing and how much abating

Sed redeamus iam in Vrbes: simus in amplo, spacio-
 soque loco: quiescat Curia; deeruntne propterea cru-
 ciatus? An non fient indies noua edicta, & constitu-
 tiones nouae? quibus vt te coaptēs, singulis diebus de
 noue incipies viuere. Siue Rex sedeat, siue stet, tibi
 tamen semper erit standum, nec vllam tuis tibijs poteris
 dare quietem: sique nonnunquam sedes, temerarius indi-
 caberis. Quid vero in STIPENDIIS exigendis? quanta
 morositas, quantaque diminutio est? Nunquam in tem-
 pore datur, nunquam integrum; nunc ad istum, nunc ad

* From Humphrey Powell's edition.

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Must courtiers suffer, and manifold checking,
Neuer hast thou the whole, sometime shall they abate,
Or els shall the day of payment be to late, 270
From Robert to Iohn sometime they shall thee sende,
And then none of both to paye thee may intende,
From poste vnto piller tossed shalt thou be,¹
Scorned and blinded with fraude and subiltie.
Some mayst thou beholde sighing for great sorowe 275
When he is appoynted to come agayne to morowe,
For many a morowe hath he bene serued so:
Another standeth his heart replete with wo,
Counting and turning the grotes in his cap,
Praying God to sende the payer an ill² hap, 280
For where he reckned for to receyue a pounce
Scant hath he halfe, suche checkes be there founde,
Neuer shall the courtier receyue whole salary
Except that he rewarde the payer priuily.
When nede constrayneth somewhat to haue before, 285
He gladly receyueth a dosen for a score,
Neuer canst thou make thy couenaunt so cleare
But that the payer shall bring thee far areare,
All if thou right well thy couenaunt fulfill
It shall the payer interpret at his will, 290
For all that blinde sorte are choked with auarice,
As catchers³ of coyne ensuing couetise,
But sometime⁴ to speake of thinges necessary,
These do all courtiers cares multiply,
Nowe for one thing they labour to obtayne, 295

illum remitteris, diuersisque mendacijs eludêris.⁵.....
Nunquam stipendia recipiunt, nisi distributorem donauerint. Necvllus est qui tam clara conuentionis sue capitula faciat, vt ad voluntatem Officialium non recipiant interpretationem, qui sunt omnis auri corrasores.

Sed iam de NECESSARIIS aliquid dicamus, qui & ipsi Curialium tormēta exaugent, nunc hoc, nunc illud impetrari sibi petentes; Et siue durum sit, siue absur-

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Nowe for another, and often all in vayne,
And though their asking be neyther right ne iust,
Yet neuer stint they till they haue had their lust.
But if it fortune their prayer and their cost
Be spent in vayne, then is their reason lost, 300
Then lurke they in corners for a month or twayne
For wo that their labour and prayer was in vayne.
Some with their princes so stande in fauour
That they may aduaunce their kinred to honour,
But then is their kinred so bad of gouernaunce, 305
That al if they may they dare not them aduaunce,
But howbeit they durst they dread of worldly shame,
Or punishment of God, or els their princes blame.

Coridon

Nowe doubtles Cornix that man is muche vnwise
Which lifteth fooles vnworthy to office, 310
But oftetime fauour and carnall affection
Abuseth the right, blinding discretion.

Cornix

If thou hadst mused a yere for this one clause
Thou could not haue said more perfitey the cause.
Beside this Coridon fewe, by the lorde aboue, 315
Haue of these courtiers true, sure and perfite loue,
For Codrus tolde me what writeth Isocrate,
That all these princes and euery great estate
In louing regarde no vertue nor prudence,
None loue they but of some hastie violence, 320

dum, quod optant, tamē impetrare te volunt. Quidam
potentes sunt, qui ex gratia Principis promouere Pro-
pinquos possent, sed tales sunt eius consanguinei, vt vel
eis benefacere non audeat, vel, si audeat, infamiam
populi, & indignationem supra se Dei sustineat.

Quid? quod amorem in se Principis nemo verum
assequitur? Namque, vt Isocrates in eo quem de regno
scripsit libro testatur, Principes neminem, nisi incon-
sulto quodam impetu diligunt: Quod si quem amant,

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Without aduisement, without discretion,
Suche loue ofte proueth faynt at conclusion.
But if they loue any they loue him not as frende,
Betwene like and like best frendship shall we finde.
For truely great lordes loue suche men with delite, 325
By them when they take some pleasour or profite,
As they loue horses, dogges, and mo suche,
What saide I, I lye, they loue them not so muche:
More loue they a horse or dogge then a man,
Aske of Minalcas, the truth declare he can. 330
For commonly as sone as any man is dead
Another is soone ready for to fulfill his stead,
With mede and with prayer his place is dearely bought
So oft haue princes their seruice cleare for nought:
But then if it fortune a dogge or horse to dye, 335
His place to fulfill another muste they by.
Yet little haue I saide, worse in the court they fare,
Not onely thy lorde shall for thy death nought care,
For thy longe seruice ofte shall he wishe thee dead,
Suche is in court thy salary and thy mede. 340
Eyther for thy seruice longe and continuall
Thou haste of thy lorde receyued nought at all,
And when thou art dead with short conclusion,
Then quite^r is thy seruice and obligation,

non vt amicum diligunt: Inter pares enim amicitia versatur: sed eo modo amant, quo & Canes, & Equos diligunt, fructū vt exinde suscipiant. Quid dixi? errauī. Certe multo plus equus, aut canis, quam homo, diligitur. Mortuo quippe viro, mox vir alius adest, qui locū defuncti magnis precibus sibi dimitti postulat. At Canis, vel Equi, mortui vicem non supplebit alius, nisi vel emptus precio, vel gratia.

Parum adhuc dixi: cum nedum non dolenda, sed optanda mors tua Principi sit, qui diutius seruisti. Aut enim pro longis obsequijs non te remunerauit, & soluitur obligatio morte tua, dulceque suo ex ore

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And ofte shall thy lorde sounde swetely foorth this A 345
A that this man so sone is gone away,
If he had liued longer a small season
I should haue put him to great promotion:
Or els if thy lorde haue well rewarded thee,
That thou haste liuelod and riches in plentie, 350
Then if thou dye beleue me for certayne,
He surely trusteth to haue all agayne:
Scant any riche man by death hence nowe shall fare
But that some great lorde will loke to be his heyre.

Coridon

That is no leasing but proued often true, 355
That caused¹ widowes oftentimes sore to rewe,
But this hath bene sene forsooth and euer shall,
That the greater fishe deuoureth vp the small.

Cornix

A right true example mate Coridon doubtlesse,
So mightie rulers the simple folke oppresse. 360
But what care in court is, nowe heare me Coridon,
Concerning thy lorde or masters owne person:
Of princes or commons thou findest seldome time,
One parfityl good and spotted with no crime,
For all suche thinges as seldome time befall 365
Tully was wont them monsters for to call,
Then is a good man more monster in dede,
Then is a wether hauing a double head.
And in likewise rehearseth Iuuenall,

sonabit: *Ah, si mortuus non fuisset homo ille, magnis eum muneribus donassem. Aut largitus est tibi plurima, quæ te mortuo recuperare se sperat. Vix enim hodie diues aliquis moritur cui Principes non succedant.*

Sed audi iam, quot imminent tibi molestiæ propter personam Principis. Raro nedum inter Principes, sed inter Priuatos quoque vir bonus reperitur. Cicero in diuinationum libris, Si quæ rarissime fiunt monstra putanda sunt, inquit, magis monstrum erit vir bonus,

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That if a man would seke ouer the worlde all, 370
 So many good men vnethes finde should he
 As there are gates in Thebes the Citie. C i
 That is to saye vnder the cope of heauen
 Of perfite good men scant shall a man finde seuen.
 And holy scripture yet speaketh more streitly, 375
 As Shepheard Dauid doth clerely testify,
 He saide our Lorde beholding on mankind
 Could scant one good in all the worlde finde.
 Scripture recordeth suche clauses many one,
 That men be sinners and God is good alone. 380

Coridon

What nowe mate Cornix, I make God auowe,¹
 Thou haste in some friers bosome bene I trowe,
 And spoyled some patche of his prechement,
 Talke of the court, saue this in store for Lent.

Cornix

So was my purpose, thou nedest not obiet, 385
 Of our first purpose these wordes haue effect.

quam partus mulæ. Astipulatur huic sententiæ Iuue-
 nalis, qui licet prius dixisset,

*Rari quippe boni, numero vix sunt totidem, quot
 Thebarum portæ, vel diuitis ostia Nili. (Iuuenal Sat 13.)*

Postea tamen, quasi septem reperiri non possent,
 amplius se restrinxit, dicens:

*Egregium, sanctumque virum si cerno, bimembri
 Vt monstrum puero, & miranti sub aratro
 Piscibus inuentis, & fætæ comparo Mulæ.*

Nec diuina scriptura remissior est: Si quidem apud
 Paulum Prophete verba relata sunt: Est autem Deus
 verax, omnis homo mendax. Et iterum scriptum est;
 quia non iustus quisquam, non est intelligens non est
 requires Deum. Ac rursus: *Non est qui faciat bonum,
 non est vsque ad vnum.*

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I tolde thee before by good aucthoritie
Howe both the poetes and oratours agree,
And holy scripture, that fewe men be perfite,
But bad in number be truely infinite. 390
So if thy master be bad and worthy blame
Then art thou sory of his dishonest name,
Thy lordes vices and liuing negligent
Shall greue thy stomake if thou be innocent:
It greueth thee if he be couetous or harde, 395
Because he denieth¹ thy labour to rewarde,
And for many thinges fayle by his negligence,
And fall to ruine for sparing of expence.
Agayne if thy lorde be free and liberall
Alway thou fearest least other men haue all, 400
His prodigall hande ofte vexeth sore thy heart,
Least at the ending nought shall come to thy part,
And least his treasure in folly so he spende
That nothing remayne to helpe him at the ende.
But if he be geuen to wrath and crueltie 405
Thou fearest least he rage agaynst thy kin or thee,
If he be meke, milde and sober thou art sory,
For he not reuengeth eche hurt and iniury,
If he be hardie then darest thou daunger,
When he procedeth then standest thou arere, 410
If he be a cowarde then haste thou great enuy
Agaynst his enemies,² for they continually

Vides vt Oratores, ac Poëtæ cum sacra scriptura concordant. Videsne, vt rari boni, mali vero infiniti sunt?

Si ergo Rex tuus malus fuerit, dolebis eius infamiam, eiusque vicijs cruciaberis. Si Auarus est, angeris, quia nec te præmiat, nec alios bene meritos; & quia plurima negligit, ne sumtum faciat: Si Liberalior est, times, ne profusione nimia obliniet ærarium: Si Crudelis, vereris, ne in te tuosque sæuiat: Si Pius, ægre fers, quia non vlscitur iniurias: Si Audax pericula reformidas: Si Vecors, hostibus inuides, qui sibi semper insultant: Si loquax,

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Destroy his landes and sore his name distayne,¹
When he for dread dare do nothing² agayne.
If he vse chatting and often be talking, 415
Well thou perceiuest that³ while his tong is walking
His priuie counsell he often doth detect,
And muche he speaketh which is of none effect.
If he be secret and still as one in slepe,
Thou sayest he doubteth that none can counsell kepe, 420
And thee suspecteth as muche as other mo,
Then art thou greued and full of care and wo.
If he loue wines⁴ and thou fearest dronkennes,
If he hate wines⁵ and thou blamest his sadnes,
And to his body thou countest him nigarde, 425
Because he would kepe his housholde the more harde.
To Uenus actes if he to muche apply,
Thou sayest he to many doth hurt and iniury,
If he hate women and flee their pleasour, then
Both thou and other reputest him no man. 430
With fewe men if he vse familiaritie
Thou art displeased of them if thou not be,
If he be common to all indifferent,
Then is thy minde in likewise discontent,
Because he loueth familier to be 435
To euery person as greatly as with thee,
But if that thy prince be good and thou be nought
Then art thou in likewise sore vexed in thy thought,

multiloquium esse non absque peccato cognoscas: Si Tacitus, dicis, quia nec Amicos, nec seruitores verbis scit retinere: Si Vinolentus, accusas ebrietatem: Si Vino non vtitur, quia parum sit lætus grauaris: Si Luxuriæ Cultor est, doles, quia plurimis iniuriatur: Si Fœminas fugit, dicis, non esse virum. Si paucos ad se admittit, displicet tibi, inter illos non esse: Si communis est omnibus, irasceris, quod tam reliquis, quam tibi sit familiaris: Si omni ex parte bonus est, quod monstrum fuerit, cum tu sis malus, doles, quia

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Least that he shortly thy seruice may despise,
Because he not liueth after thy lewde gise. 440
But if both be good and all of vices cleane,
Which is a thing that seldome time is sene,
Then monest¹ thou for that he is not fortunate
As he is ordeyned and after his estate,
Thy heart and minde doth so to him incline² 445
That all his troubles and paynes³ shall be thine,
For this without doubt I tell thee Coridon,
That no father is so tender ouer his son
As is a good seruaunt diligent and true
Unto a noble prince endued with vertue. 450
And all if good fortune to him be fauourable.
Yet still thou dredest because it is vnstable.
Thus neuer shalt thou slepe in peace and quietnes,
But when thou wakest thy rest is muche lesse.

Coridon

Because thou recountest of thy fidelitie, 455
Of masters and men which loueth honestie,
Nowe I remember the shepheard of the fen,⁴
And what care for him demeaned all his men.
And shepheard Morton when he durst not appeare,⁵
Howe his olde seruauntes were carefull of his⁶ chere. 460
In payne and pleasour they kept fidelitie,
Till grace agayne gaue him auctoritie,
Then his olde fauour did them agayne restore
To greater pleasour then they had payne before;⁷
Though for a season this shepheard bode a blast, 465
The greatest winde yet slaketh at the last,

tuis vicijs non alludit: Aut si tu quoque sis bonus,
quemadmodum est difficile, dolebis Principi bono non
arridere Fortunam, semperque anxius eris suo statui:
Ægrotabis cum eo: quoniam non tam filio suo pater
afficitur, quam bono Principi bonus seruus: Cui etsi
fortuna fauerit, nunc mutationem, nunc insidias times,
nec dormies vnquam, nec vigilabis in pace.

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And at conclusion he and his flocke certayne
Eche true to other did quietly remayne.
My harte sore mourneth when I must specify
Of the gentle Cocke whiche sange so mirily, 470
He and his flocke were like an vnion,
Conioyned in one without discention,
All the fayre Cockes which in his dayes crewe
When death him touched did his departing rewe,
The pretie palace by him made in the fen,¹ 475
The maides, widowes, the wiues and the men,
With deadly dolour were pearsed to the heart
When death constrayned this shepheard to departe.
Corne, grasse and fieldes mourned for wo and payne,
For oft his prayer for them obtayned rayne, 480
The pleasaunt floures for wo faded eche one
When they perceyued this shepheard dead and gone,
The okes, elmes and euery sorte of dere²
Shronke vnder shadowes, abating all their chere,
The mighty walles of Ely monastery, 485
The stones, rockes, and towres semblably
The marble pillers and images echeone,
Swet all for sorowe when this good cocke was gone,³
Though he of stature were humble, weake and leane,
His minde was hye, his liuing pure and cleane, 490
Where other feedeth by beastly appetite,
On heauenly foode was all his whole delite.
And shortly after this Cocke was dead and gone
The Shepheard Roger⁴ could not bide long alone,
But shortly after false death stole him away, 495
His worthy reporte still liueth till this day.
When shepe wer scabbed this good shepherd was fayne
With easie salues their sores to cure agayne,
He nought pretended nor shewed of rigour,
Nor was no wolfe poore lambes to deuour, 500
When bushe or brambles pilled⁵ the shepes skin,
Then had he pitie and kept them close within,
Or in newe fleeces did tenderly them lap,

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And with his skirtes did oftentime them hap,¹
When he departed his flocke for wo was faynt, 505
The fouldes sounded with dolour and complaynt,
So that their clamour and crye bespred the yle,²
His death was mourned from Ely forty mile.
These worthy heardes and many other mo
Were with their wethers in loue conioyned so, 510
That more they cured by witte and pacience,
Then dreadfull drome³ can do with violence.
Therefore all heardes vnto the wolde I trowe
Should laude their names if vertue reigned now,
But sith that cunning and vertue nere be gone 515
Nowe be they lauded forsooth of fewe or none.
I let⁴ thy purpose to make conclusion,
Uice liueth, vertue hath light obliuion,
But speake on Cornix yet is it long to night,
My minde to disclose causeth my heart be light. 520

Cornix

To laude these pastours wherfore haste thou delite?

[*Coridon*]⁵

All other shepheardes to vertue to excite.

Cornix

Then be thy wordes nothing mispent in vayne,
But nowe to courtes will I returne agayne.
And namely for thou haste spoken of cunning 525
Me liste a little to common of that thing.
It is to clarkes great pleasour certaynly
And recreation to geue them to studie,
And some finde pleasour and recreation
In secrete study and meditation, 530
To write or to rede in places solitary,
Whole to the muses his reason to apply,

Est insuper magna virorum recreatio MENTIS
SECESSVS: Cum se aliquis retrahit in solitarium
locum, ac vel meditatur, vel legit, vel scribit: totumque
se Musis præbet. Et nunc Platonem, nunc Aristotelem,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To talke with Plato, with Tulli or Uirgill,
With Aristotle to common at his will,
And other famous doctours many one. 535

Coridon

What man, all these long past be dead and gone,
Who would with these¹ dispute, common or talke,
To go where they be shall finde a wery walke.

Cornix

Though they be dead alieue yet² is their name,
Their laudes, honour, their hye reporte of fame, 540
So men deuise to speake with them in dede
As often as they their noble workes rede.

But as for courtiers aswell earely as late
Be of this pleasour vtterly priuate,
Though they liue idle their paynes infinite 545
To godly workes them graunteth no respite,

Alway in clamour remayne they and in preace.
And lewde acquayntaunce will them no time releace,
But if that they chose some season secretly
To some good study their mindes to apply, 550

To write or to read, anone some wretch is fayne
And glad them to vexen and to disturbe agayne,
But if all other be absent and at rest

Then nere their chamber the kitchin clarke is prest.
Iengling his counters chatting him selfe alone, 555
Thus seke all corners quiet thou findest none.

nunc Tullium, nunc Virgilium, nunc alios Doctores, iam dudum mortuos, sed fama viuentes & scriptis, alloquitur. Sed hac voluptate priuati sunt Curiales, qui semper in negocio sunt, in clamoribus, in tumultibus. Si tibi nonnunquam particulam Mensæ delegeris, in qua vel legas aliquid, vel scribas; mox aliquis instabit, qui te vexet. Et si alij cessauerint, non aberit Dispensator, qui prope te computum faciat, æraque moueat, nusquam tibi angulus patebit quietus, in quo possis cum Scipione dicere: *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus.*

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So must one¹ despise those noble oratours,
The famous poetes and excellent doctours,
And liue among men auoyde of vertues all,
That rather a man rude beastes may them call. 560
Of great estates there is a blinded sorte,
Which cause their sonnes vnto the court resorte,
That they may in court themselfe dayly frequent
In learning vertue and maners excellent,
But better might they say to learne all malice, 565
All cursed maners and euery braunch of vice,
As pride, disdayne, enuy and ribaudrie,
So be good maners infect with villanie.
For surely in courtes be men most vicious,
Supporting vices to vertue contrarious, 570
Dishonest language is counted most laudable,
One bosteth baudry or gluttony damnable,
No man there vaunteth him selfe of honestie,
Of vertue, maners, of mercy and pitie,²
But eyther he ioyeth of his mischeuous life, 575
To haue defiled a virgin or a wife,
Or els to haue slayne his foe or enemye,
Or fraude committed or crafty felony.
Which cursed maners youth sooner doth insue,
Then godly liuing or maners of vertue. 580

Oportet te Priscis illis sanctique viris carere, atque inter homines viuere, quos rectius Bestias, omni virtute carentes, appellaueris.

Sunt qui dicunt, se filios suos idcirco Principibus dare, vt MORES ediscant, fiantque virtute præstantes: Melius dicerent ad intelligendam maliciam, turpitudinemque discendam se filios transmisisse. Sunt enim in Curijs viciosissimi Iuuenes, sermones inhonesti. Ille luxuriam commendat, ille voracitatem: Nemo de virtute se iactat, sed aut virgine violasse, aut stuprasse nuptam, aut emulum occidis, aut rapina se aliquid nactum gloriabitur: quæ scelera sic ad adolescentes

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

When youth in vices hath fixed their courage,
 They by no meanes shall leaue the same in age,
 Nor thinke not in court to finde a yonge stripling,
 Chast, sober, shamefast or maners ensuing,
 All sueth vices, all sue enormitie, 585
 Suche be the disciples as their infourmers be,
 For true is the clause rehearsed of Terence,
 That youth enclined then namely to offence,
 When a lewde master him moued to incline
 By ill example to daunger and ruine. 590
 For nature leaneth¹ to all enormitie
 When men so vseth which be in dignitie.
 Youth thinketh lawfull and but a ioconde fit
 Suche vice as elders vse dayly to commit,
 And as yong braunches sone rotte and putrify, 595
 So youth corrupteth by vices semblably.

Coridon

Be all yonge galandes of these abused sorte,
 Whiche in yonge age vnto the court resorte?

Cornix

Who entreth the court in yong and tender age
 Are lightly blinded with folly and outrage, 600
 But such as entreth of witte and grauitie
 Bowe not so soone to suche enormitie,
 But or² they enter if they haue learned nought,
 Afterwarde is cunning the least part of their thought.
 In court it is counted vice to haue science, 605

imitantur atque imbibunt, vt nunquam postea dimit-
 tant. Necte putes adolescentem pudicum, sobrium, vere-
 cundum, & bene morigeratum, apud Principes inuenire:
 Omnes huiusmodi sunt, quales magistri. Verum est
 enim, quod Terentius ait: Ad peiorem plærunque
 partem animum applicari, si quis ad eam rem Magis-
 trum sortitus sit improbum. Sic Natura iubet; velocius
 & citius eos corrumpunt exempla mala, cum animum
 magnis autoribus subeunt.³.....

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And counted for rebuke for to haue eloquence,
Thus haue men cunning great heauines and payne
Beholding them selues in court had in disdayne,
Their wit despised: in meane time shall they see,
That greatest matters ruled (nay marred) be 610
Of suche blinde fooles as can not count nor tell
A score saue twentie, yet moste of all suche mell.
But men vnlearned of inwarde payne haue some,
When they beholde that to the court be come
Men groundly learned, in Latin commoning, 615
The other hearken and vnderstande nothing,
Then truely it is to them a greeuous payne,
But neuerthelesse of them haue they disdayne.
But liuing in court and flying none offence,
What shall I common what grutch of conscience 620
Uexeth thee dayly, right small is thy delite
When troubled conscience vnquiet' doth thee bite.
No payne is sorer nor greeuouser torment
Then to remember and call to thine intent
Howe many vices, howe great enormitie 625
Hath thee in thraldome and in captiuitie,
Thine owne conscience is still within thy brest
As tormentour, depriuing thee of rest,
With priuie scourges and payne intollerable,

Est enim in Curijs Principum viciosum, litteras nosse,
& probri loco ducitur disertus. Est itaque magna literatorum molestia, cum se contemni per omnia viderint, & res maximas ab istis dirigi, ne dicam ego negligi, qui vix inter manus & pedes quot habent digitos norunt. Sed est etiam illiteratis sua turbatio, cum viros in curiam doctos, ac Latine loquentes venisse vident, quos ipsi nequeunt intelligere. Quid præterea de CONSCIENTIA tua dicam, quæ semper inquieta est, semperque te mordet, cum tu te scias, multis viciorum illecebris inquinatum. Nullum grauius supplicium, vt Seneca scribit, quam Conscientia.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Recounting thy workes and life abhominable, 630
Thou mayst not auoyde and from this enemy start,
Flee where thee liketh he resteth in thy heart,
This is of courtiers the deadly tormentour,
With desperation them seeking to deuour.

Sometime their conscience grutch'd is with gile, 635
 With theft, with murther, with lechery some while,
 Though their own conscience thus torment them *with*
 payn

To the same offences returne they yet agayne,
 Their conscience grutching to cause of grutch they fall,
 Thus still them torment the furies infernall, C ij 640

I mean remembrance of manyfolde offence,
Continuall torment by grutche of conscience.
What shall I tell thee the payne of soden feare
Which doth the mindes of courtiers often deare,^r
Sometime the lower are greeued with threatning,
And suffer paynes when they haue done nothing.

Hinc Iuuenalis:

.....*cur tamen hos tu*
Euasisse putas, quos diri conscia facti
Mens habet attonitos, & surdo verberet cædit,
Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum?
Pæna autem vehemens, ac multo sæuior illis,
Quas & Caeditius grauis inuenit & Rhadamæus,
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.
(Juuenal Sat. 13.)

Sed audi obsecro Ciceronem, pro Sexto Roscio, cuius hæc, si bene memini, verba sunt: Sua quæque fraus, & suus terror maxime vexat; suum quæque scelus agit, amentiaque afficit, malæ cogitationes conscientiaque animi terrent. Hæc sunt Impiis assiduæ domesticæque Furia, quæ dies noctesque pœnas parentum, a consceleratissimis filijs repetant. Quæque te vertis, obloquutiones de Rege, de Consiliariis, de te ipso fiunt, cum vel

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Sometime while the court is daunsing in disport
Or in other solace their heartes to comfort,
Anone commeth in a sodeyn messangere,
Affirming truely some armed foes nere, 650
And that same army is neare at hande doubtles,
Then turneth solace to wo and heauines,
And while some princes for pleasour hauke or hunt,
Suche fearefull tidings to heare ofte are they¹ wont.

Coridon

Suche feare and daunger doth happen commonly 655
On all degrees with sodeyn ieopardy,
For plowmen, shepheardes and citizens also
By warre endureth great dammage, losse and wo.

Cornix

All other sortes sometime may² stande afarre,
But courtiers must bide all daunger of warre,³ 660
Saue losse of goodes, for some haue nought to lose,
But this will I leaue and turne to my purpose.
No gifte⁴ is graunted of God vnto mankinde
Better then frendship when man it true may finde,
But ouer all the court no man shall finde nor see 665
True stedfast frendship nor perfite amitie,
For sith all courtiers for moste parte blinded be
With vicious liuing and all enormitie,
They haue no frendship but conspiracyon,
And to do mischief confederation. 670
For perfite frendship is when two men agree
Or mo, in working some dede of honestie.

nimis subditi grauantur, vel hostes instant, dum Curia
CHOREIS est, aut in VENATIONIBVS occupata.

Nullum inter res mundanas maius munus est homi-
nibus a Deo concessum, vt Cicero dicit, quam AMI-
CITIA. At hoc bono, tam suaui, tam vtili, tam neces-
sario, priuati sunt Curiales. Nanque viciosissimi fere
cum sint omnes, non Amicitia inter eos esse, sed factio
quædam, & conspiratio potest. Inueniuntur nonnulli

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Some courtiers be founde which seme ingenious,
 Pregnaunt of reason, wise and laborious,
 Yet haue they but shadowe of vertue and goodnes, 675
 And not of vertues the playne signes expres,
 Some seme liberall, but they ensue rapine,
 Some seme very chaste, but they to pride incline,
 Some semeth humble, which vseth gluttony,
 And some famillier which leane to' lechery, 680
 In none mayst thou see one sparkle of vertue,
 But twentie vices shall that one gift ensue.
 In suche a meany full of iniquitie
 Harde is to finde one worthy amitie,
 But if thou in court some honest men² awayte 685
 Then with great rulers is he made in conceyt,
 I[f]*³ he from conceyt and out of fauour be
 Thou mayst not with him haue familiaritie.
 Sometime shalt thou see suche drawen to torment
 As be thy frendes, faultles and innocent, 690
 And ofte thy enemy in many a fault culpable
 Thou shalt in the court see hye and honorable:
 To see thy good frende bide death so wrongfully,
 To sorowe and nought say is a great payne truely,

industrij ac laboriosi Curiales; at in his adumbrata, nō expressa, sunt signa virtutum. Videntur quidam liberales, sed rapinam sequuntur. Si sunt casti, ambitiosos inuenies eos, atque superbos. Si humiles, Ebrij sunt & Nebulones. In nullo virtus est aliqua, quam mille vicia non comitentur. Arduum est, in hac hominum colluie, virum amicitia dignum reperire. Quod si quis inuentus fuerit bonus, vel Regi non placebit, vel Magnatibus, nec eius vti beneuolentia poteris: quia non licet in Curijs habere commercium inter illos, qui non sunt accepti: Videbisque nonnunquam illos, quos diligis, & qui tibi sanguine sunt coniuncti, ad supplicium rapi. Et quamuis difficile sit tacere, cum doleas; tamen nec

* Cawood: 'It.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But yet for thy life say nought, be pacient, 695
Not onely whisper least thou haue like torment.
Conuersaunt muste thou be with suche to thy payne
Which haue thy father or els thy brother slayne.
If thou be busy or squaring¹ of language
Thou mayst peradventure walke in the same passage. 700
And if thou in court to riches so assende
That thou mayst reteyne men on thee to attende,
Some of thy seruauntes shalt thou oft time beholde
Lewdely disposed to vices manyfolde,
Some shall be theues, some dronkenner then swine, 705
Some shall loue brauling or to lying encline,
Some slowe, some gluttons, some fall to ribaudry,
Aduoutry, murther, with other villany.
Some be forgetfull, some peart, some insolent,
Some craftles fooles, some proude and negligent, 710
If thou chaunge, some better for to haue,
Thou voydest a lubber and hast agayne a knaue,
And if thou haue one with knauishenes infect,
Then all the other shall folowe the same secte.
Agayne if thy selfe be poore and a seruaunt, 715
Thou shalt finde thy master rashe, rude² and ignoraunt,
Alway complayning, and neuer well content,
Ofte asking seruice, in paying negligent,
Of speche³ superflue, hastie and rigorous,
Enuious, dronken, vnstable and couetous. 720
Thus seruaunt, master, gentleman and villayne,
Liue all in court with misery and payne.

conqueri poteris, neque hiscere: Sæpeque cum illo conuersari cogeris, qui tibi vel patrem vel matrem occiderit.

Si eius conditionis fueris, vt FAMVLATVM possis tenere; inueneris Seruitores tuos Ebrios, Gulosos, Rixososque, Insolentes, Immemores, Negligentes, Inertes, Adulteros, Homicidas. Si rursus tu alteri famuleris, dominum auarum, Querulosum, Inuidum, Temulentum, Loquacem reperies.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

Nowe truely Cornix this is a wretched life,
Uoyde of all pleasour, wrapped in payne and strife.

Cornix

Count all the rowmes and offices echeone,¹ 725
And none shalt thou finde without vexation,
What thinke the counsell² when princes not agree
To their aduisement of moste vtilitie?
What haue Chauncelers of inwarde displeasour
When their letters written to their princes honour, 730
For the common weale and sure vtilitie,
Can not passe forward till they transposed be
From good to right nought, corrupt for correct?
What thinke controllors when they be dayly chekt,
The rulers of court, vsher and senescall, 735
Treasurers, clerkes, and euery marshall,
What payne haue these echeone in his office,
When often ribaudes them sclaunder and despise,
Or some busy body hauing but small insight
Comptroll their countes be they neuer so right? 740
What payne haue chaplens comptrolled in seruice,
And phisitians when some their arte³ despise?
What knightes, trompeters and souldiers commonly,

Discurrere per *omnes Curiae status*; quam contemti
CONSILIARII sint, suisque consilijs non acquies-
cere Principes. Quid aiunt CANCELLARII, cum
eorum litterae ad honorem Regis & vtilitatem scriptae,
transire non possunt, nisi corruptae, & ex bono in
malum mutatae? Quid MAGISTRI CVRIÆ, &
MARESCHALLI, dum obedientiam non inueniunt?
Quid MAGISTRI CAMERÆ, dum eorum computa
corripiuntur? Quid CAPPELLANI, dum in celebra-
tione diuinorum officiorum suspenduntur. Quid
MEDICI, dum negligi sana, & nociua recipi cernunt?
Quid MILITES? Quid CVBICVLARII? Quid
TVBICINES? dum stipendia sibi negantur? Quid

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

When treasurers their wages doth deny?
What payne haue cookes whiche scant maye seeth 745
 their befe

Without some rebuke, a checke or a reprefe?
Coridon in court no roume is trust thou me,
But that is wrapped in great aduersitie,
But briefly to say^r and make conclusion,
Right wise men suffer great tribulation 750
The heauenly pleasour to purchase and obtayne,
More suffreth courtiers to purchase endles payne.
I mell not with them which of necessitie
Agayne their pleasour must in the court be
As busy suters to purchase droit and right, 755
Which would be thence right gladly if they might.

Coridon

Beleue me Cornix thou turned hast my minde,
Farewell all courting, adewe pleasour vnkinde,
Thou playne hast proued that all they fooles be
Which folowe the court seking captiuitie, 760
And might els where an honest life purchase,
Hauing suffisaunce and moderate solace.

Cornix

Then let all shepheardes^r from hence to Salisbury,
With easie riches liue well, laugh and be mery.
Pipe vnder shadowes, small riches hath most rest, 765
In greatest seas moste sorest is tempest.
The court is nought els but a tempesteous sea,

COQVI, qui nihil parare sine reprehensione possunt?
Nullus est, cui non sint infinitæ molestiæ. Atque, vt
breuiter dicam; per multas tribulationes intrant Iusti
in gloriam DEI: *curiales vero cum multis cruciatibus
acquirere sibi Gehennam student.*³.....

Taceo & illos, qui necessario & inuiti sequuntur
Curiam. Nam, vt Cicero pro Sexto Roscio dicit; Quod
ego inuitus & necessario facio, nec diu, nec diligenter
facere possum.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Auoyde the rockes, be ruled after me,
There is more daunger then is vppon the lande,
As swallows,¹ rockes, tempest and quicke sande. 770
Mayrmaydes singing, abusing with their song,
Caribdis, Sylla, and sandy bankes longe,
In it be cliffes of hardest Adamant
To sinne exciting yonge fooles ignorant.
What shepheard loueth peace and tranquillitie, 775
Or rest requireth to liue in vnitie,
Swete peace of heart who euer doth require,
Or health of his soule if any man desire,
Flee from the court, flee from the court I crye,
Flee proude beggery and solemne miserye. 780
For there is no rest nor godly exercise,
No loue of vertue but vse of euery vice,
As auarise, lust, and beastly gluttony,
Crueltie, malice, ambition and enuy:
But namely Uenus or luste venerall, 785
To hir vile actes playnly subdueth all,
Upon which vices who fixeth his intent
Him selfe to defende hath he no argument,
But that of all wise men,² honest and laudable,
He shalbe conuict of liuing reprouable, 790

Credo iam me promissioni meæ satisfecisse; quia
stultos esse, me probaturum dixi, Omnes, qui aliam
vitam habentes, in qua possint se honeste traducere,
Curiarum molestias sequuntur. Quod cum ita sit, re-
linquamus hoc PELAGVS INQUIETVM, nosque
in aliam vitam redigamus. Namque si pacem cupimus,
si ocium diligimus, si nobis viuere volumus, si Salutem
animæ quærimus; fugienda sunt nobis atria Regum &
aulici tumultus: in quibus nec requies, nec bonarum
artium exercitatio, nec virtutis amor aliquis regnat; sed
Auaricia tantum, Libido, Crudelitas, Crapula, Inuidia,
& Ambitio dominatur. Quibus vicijs qui sit deditus,
nullo se poterit argumento tueri, quin apud viros doctos,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

A naturall foole of reason dull and rude,
Proface Coridon, thus do I here conclude.

Coridon

Conclude mote¹ thy life in blessed state of grace
Mine owne heart Cornix for this thy good solace,
But haste thou touched all whole and perfetely 795
Of court and courtiers the payne and misery.

Cornix

Nay, nay Coridon, I tolde thee so before,
Muche haue I tolde, behinde is muche more,
Their inwarde crimes and vice abhominable,
Their outwarde raging in sinnes detestable, 800
Their theft and fraudes, and their extortion,
And of misliuers their supportation,
Their dayly murther and forsing of women,
Frauding of virgins, pilling of simple men,
Aduoutry, incest and fornication, 805
And of good virgins the defloration.
These and suche like dare I not playnly touche,
For all these crosses and siluer in my pouche.

Coridon

Then haste we hence the sonne is nere at rest,

Cornix

Take vp thy baggage my mate that now is best. 810

Coridon

But tell me Cornix one thing or we departe,
On what maner life is best to set my harte?
In court is combraunce, care, payne, and misery,
And here is enuy, ill will and penury.

Cornix

Sufferaunce ouercommeth all malice at the last, 815
Weake is that tree which can not bide a blast,
But heare nowe my counsell I bid thee finally,
Liue still a shepheard for playnly so will I.

& malus esse conuincatur, & stultus. Vale, vir, nisi ex
Curialibus vnus esses, meo iudicio prudens.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Coridon

That shall I Cornix thy good counsell fulfill,
To dye a shepheard established is my will.

820

Cornix

So do, or after thou often shall repent,
Poore life is surest, the court is but torment.

Coridon

Adewe swete Cornix, departing is a payne,
But mirth reneweth when louers mete againe.

**Thus endeth the thirde and laste Egloge
of the miseries of Courtes and Courtiers.**

The fourth Egloge¹ of Alexander Barclay, entituled
Codrus and Minalcas, treating of the behauour of
Riche men agaynst Poetes.

The Argument

CODrus a shepheard lusty, gay and stoute,
Sat with his wethers at pasture round about,
And poore Minalcas with ewes scarce fourtene
Sat sadly musing in shadowe on the grene.
This lustie Codrus was cloked for the rayne, 5
And doble decked with huddes one or twayne,
He had a pautner² with purses manyfolde,
And surely lined with siluer and with golde,
Within his wallet were meates good and fine,
Both store and plentie had he of ale and wine, 10
Suche fulsome pasture made him a double chin,
His furred mittins were of a cures skin,
Nothing he wanted longing to cloth or foode,
But by no meane would he depart with good.
Sometime this Cod[ru]s^{3*} did vnder shadowe lye 15
Wide open piping and gaping on the skye,
Sometime he daunced and hobbled as a beare,
Sometime he pried howe he became his geare,
He lept, he songe, and ran to proue his might,
When purse is heauy oftetime the heart is light. 20
But though this Codrus had store inough of good,
He wanted wisdom, for nought he vnderstood
Saue worldly practise his treasour for to store,
Howe euer it came small forse had he therfore.
On the otherside the poore Minalcas lay, 25
With empty belly and simple poore aray,
Yet coude he pipe and finger well a drone,⁴
But soure is musike when men for hunger grone.
Codrus had riches, Minalcas had cunning,
For God not geueth to one man euery thing. 30

* Cawood: 'Codurs.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

At last this Codrus espied Minalcas,
And soone he knewe what maner man he was,
For olde acquayntaunce betwene them earst had bene,¹
Long time before they met vpon the grene,
And therfore Codrus downe boldly by him sat, 35
And in this maner began with him to chat, C iij

FINIS

Codrus first speaketh

AL hayle Minalcas, nowe by my fayth well met,
Lorde Iesu mercy what troubles did thee let,
That this long season none could thee here espy?
With vs was thou wont to sing full merily, 40
And to lye piping oftetime among the floures,
What time thy beastes were feding among ours.
In these olde valleys we two were wont to bourde,²
And in these shadowes talke many a mery worde,
And oft were we wont to wrastle for a fall, 45
But nowe thou droupest and hast forgotten all.
Here wast thou wont swete balades to sing,
Of song and ditie as it were for a king,
And of gay matters to sing and to endite,
But nowe thy courage is gone and thy delite, 50
Trust me Minalcas nowe playnly I espy
That thou art wery of shepheardes company,
And that all pleasour thou semest to despise,
Lothing our pasture and fieldes in likewise,
Thou fleest solace and euery mery fitte, 55
Leasing thy time and sore hurting thy witte,

Ægloga quinta quæ dicitur Candidus de consuetudine
diuitum erga poetas colloquutores Syluanus & Can-
didus.³

Sylu. Candide nobiscum pecudes aliquando solebas
Pascere/& his gelidis calamos inflare sub umbris
Et miscere sales simul/& certare palestra.
Nunc autem quasi pastores & rura perosus
Pascua sopito fugis/& trahis ocia cantu.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In sloth thou slombrest as buried were thy song,
Thy pipe is broken or somewhat els is wrong.

Minalcas

What time the Cuckowes fethers mout and fall,
From sight she lurketh, hir song is gone withall, 60
When backe is bare and purse of coyne is light,
The wit is dulled and reason hath no might:
Adewe enditing when gone is libertie,
Enemie to Muses is wretched pouertie,
What time a knight is subiect to a knaue 65
To iust or tourney small pleasour shall he haue.

Codrus

What no man thee kepeth here in captiuitie,
And busy labour subdueth pouertie,
And oft it is better and much surer also
As subiect to obey then at freewill to go, 70
As for example beholde a wanton colte
In raging youth leapeth ouer hill and holte,¹
But while he skippeth at pleasure and at will
Ofte time doth he fall in daunger for to spill,
Sometime on stubbes his hofes sore he teares, 75
Or fals in the mud both ouer head and eares,
Sometime all the night abroad in hayle or rayne,
And oft among breres tangled by the mayne,
And other perils he suffreth infinite,
So mingled with sorowe is pleasour and delite: 80
But if this same colte be broken at the last,
His sitter ruleth and him refrayneth fast,
The spurre him pricketh, the bridle doth him holde,
That he can not prounce at pleasour where he wolde,
The rider him ruleth and saueth from daunger. 85
By which example Minalcas it is clere
That freewill is subiect to inconuenience,
Where by subiection man voydeth great offence,
For man of him selfe is very frayle certayne,
But ofte a ruler his folly doth refrayne, 90
But as for thy selfe thou hast no cause pardie,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To walke at pleasour is no captiuitie.

Minalcas

Seest thou not Codrus the fieldes rounde about¹
Compassed with floudes that none may in nor out,
The muddy waters nere choke me with the stinke, 95
At euery tempest they be as blacke as inke:
Pouertie to me should be no discomforte
If other shepheardes were all of the same sorte.
But Codrus I clawe oft where it doth not itche,
To see ten beggers and halfe a dosen riche, 100
Truely me thinketh this wrong pertition,
And namely sith all ought be after one.
When I first behelde these fieldes from a farre,
Me thought them pleasant and voyde of strife or warre,
But with my poore flocke approching nere and nere 105
Alway my pleasour did lesse and lesse appeare,
And truely Codrus since I came on this grounde
Oft vnder floures vile snakes haue I founde,
Adders and todes and many fell serpent,
Infecte olde shepe with venim violent, 110
And ofte be the yonge infected of the olde,
That vnto these fewe nowe brought is all my folde.²

Codrus

In some place is neyther venim nor serpent,
And as for my selfe I fele no greuouse sent.

Minalcas

It were great maruell where so great grounde is sene,³ 115
If no small medowe were pleasaunt, swete and clene,
As for thee Codrus I may beleue right weele,
That thou no sauour nor stinke of mud dost feele,
For if a shepheard hath still remayned longe
In a foule prison or in a stinking gonge,⁴ 120
His pores with ill ayre be stopped so echeone
That of the ayre he feleth small sent or none,
And yet the dwellers be badder then the place,
The riche and sturdie doth threaten and manace
The poore and simple and suche as came but late, 125

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And who moste knoweth him moste of all they hate,
And all the burthen is on the Asses backe,
But the stronge Caball¹ standeth at the racke.
And suche be assigned sometime the flocke to kepe
Which scant haue so muche of reason as the shepe, 130
And euery shepheard at other hath enuy,
Scant be a couple which loueth perfutely,
Ill will so reygne that brauling be thou sure,
Constrayned me nere to seke a newe pasture,
Saue onely after I hope of better rest, 135
For small occasion a birde not chaungeth nest.

Codrus

Welere thou graunted that in a large grounde
Some plot of pleasour and quiet may be founde,
So where of hearde assembled is great sorte,
There some must be good, then to the best resorte. 140
But leaue we all this, turne to our poynt agayne,
Of thy olde balades some would I heare full fayne,
For often haue I had great pleasour and delite
To heare recounted suche as thou did endite.

Minalcas

Yea, other shepheardes which haue inough at home,² 145
When ye be mery and stuffed is your wombe,
Which haue great store of butter, chese and woll,
Your coves others of milke replete and full,
Payles of swete milke as full as they be able,
When your fat dishes smoke hote vpon your table, 150
Then laude ye songes and balades magnifie,
If they be mery or written craftily,
Ye clappe your handes and to the making harke,
And one say to other, lo here a proper warke.

Cand. Vos quibus est res ampla domi/quibus ubera uaccæ
Plena ferunt / quibus alba greges mulctralia
complent
Cymbia lacte niuent/& pingua prandia fumant/
Carmina laudatis. si quid concinius exit/

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But when ye haue saide nought geue ye for our payne, 155
Saue onely laudes and pleasaunt wordes vayne,
All if these laudes may well be counted good,
Yet the poore shepheard must haue some other food.

Codrus

Mayst thou not sometime thy folde and shepe apply,
And after at leasour to liue more quietly, 160
Dispose thy wittes to make or to endite,
Renouncing cures for time while thou dost write.

Minalcas

Nedes must a Shepheard bestowe his whole labour
In tending his flockes, scant may he spare one houre:
In going, comming, and often them to tende, 165
Full lightly the day is brought vnto an ende.
Sometime the wolues with dogges must he chace,
Sometime his foldes must he newe compace:
And oft time them chaunge, and if he stormes doubt,
Of his shepecote dawbe the walles round about: 170
When they be broken, oft times them renue,
And hurtfull pastures note well, and them eschue.
Bye strawe and litter, and hay for winter colde,
Oft grease the scabbes aswell of yonge as olde.
For dreade of thieues oft watche vp all the night, 175
Beside this labour with all his minde and might,
For his poore housholde for to prouide vitayle,
If by aduenture his wooll or lambes fayle.

Plauditis/ac læti placidas extenditis aures.
Pro numeris uarias laudes/& inania uerba
Redditis. interea pastor sitit/esurit/alget.

Sylu. Nonne potes curare greges. & dicere uersus
Cum uacat? & positus uitam traducere curis?

Cand. Omnem operam gregibus pastorem impendere
oportet/
Ire redire/lupos arcere/mapalia sepe
Cingere: mercari paleas/& pabula/uictum

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

In doing all these no respite doth remayne,
 But well to indite requireth all the brayne. 180
 I tell thee Codrus, a stile of excellence
 Must haue all laboure and all the diligence.
 Both these two workes be great, nere importable
 To my small power, my strength is muche vnable.
 The one to intende scant may I bide the payne, 185
 Then it is harder for me to do both twayne.
 What time^t my wittes be clere for to indite,
 My dayly charges will graunt me no respite:
 But if I folowe, inditing at my will,
 Eche one disdayneth my charges to fulfill. 190
 Though in these fieldes eche other ought sustayne,
 Cleane lost is that lawe, one may require in vayne:
 If coyne commaunde, then men count them as bounde,
 Els flee they labour, then is my charge on grounde.

Codrus

Cornix oft counted that man should flee no payne, 195
 His frendes burthen to supporte and sustayne:
 Feede they thy flocke, while thou doest write and sing,
 Eche horse agreeth not well for euery thing.
 Some for the charet, some for the cart or plough,
 And some for hakneyes, if they be light and tough. 200
 Eche fielde agreeth not well for euery seede,
 Who hath moste labour is worthy of best mede.

Minalcas

After inditing then gladly would I drinke,
 To reach me the cup no man doth care ne thinke:
 And ofte some fooles voyde of discretion 205
 Me and my matters haue in derision.

Quærere/nîl superest ocii: laudabile carmen
 Omnem operam totumque caput syluane re-
 quirir.
 Grande utrumque opus est/& nostris uiribus
 impar
 Cum cecini sitio: sitienti pocula nemo

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And meruayle is none, for who would sowe that field,
With costly seedes, which shall no fruites yelde.
Some wanton body oft laugheth me to scorne,
And saith: Minalcas, see howe thy pilche¹ is torne, 210
Thy hose and cokers be broken at the knee,
Thou canst not stumble, for both thy shone may see.
Thy beard like bristles, or like a porpos skin,
Thy cloathing sheweth, thy winning is but thin:
Such mocking tauntes renueth oft my care, 215
And now be woods of fruit and leaues bare.
And frostie winter hath made the fieldes white,
For wrath and anger my lip and tonge I bite:
For dolour I droupe, sore vexed with disdayne,
My wombe all wasteth, wherfore I bide this payne: 220
My wooll and wethers may scarsly feede my wombe,
And other housholde which I retayne at home.
Leane be my lambes, that no man will them bye,
And yet their dammes they dayly sucke so dry,
That from the vthers no licoure can we wring, 225
Then without repast who can indite or sing.
It me repenteth, if I haue any wit,
As for my science, I very am of it.
And of my poore life I weary am, Codrus,
Sith my harde fortune for me disposeth thus, 230
That of the starres and planettes eche one

Porrigit. irrident alii: tibi penula dicunt
Candide trita. genu nudum. riget hispida barba.²
Iam syluæ implumes/& hyems in montibus albet.
Irascor/doleo/indignor. fert omnia uictus/
Lanicium/fœtusque mares. non uendimus agnas.
Sed quia lac pascunt/premitur nihil. ubera sic-
cant.

Pœnitet* ingenii si quid mihi. pœnitet artis:
Pœnitet & uitæ: postquam mihi nulla secundant
Ex tot syderibus quot sunt in nocte serena.

* Pœniter

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To poore Minalcas well fortunate is none.
Knownen is the truth if it were clerely sought,
That nowe to this time I still haue songe for nought:
For youth is lusty, and of small thing hath nede, 235
That time to age men geue no force nor heede.
Ages condition is greatly contrary,
Which nowe approcheth right still and craftyly,
But what time age doth any man oppresse,
If he in youth haue gathred no riches: 240
Then passeth age in care and pouertie,
For nede is griueous with olde infirmitie:
And age is fetred oft time with care and neede,
When strength is faded and man hath nought to feede,
When strength is faded, then hope of gayne is gone, 245
In youthes season to make prouision.
The litle Emmet is wise and prouident,
In summer working with labour diligent,
In her small caues conueying corne and grayne
Her life in Winter to nourish and sustayne: 250
And with her small mouth is busy it cutting,
Least in her caues the same might growe or spring.
So man of reason himselfe reputing sage,
In youth should puruey, to liue theron in age.

Codrus

Men say that clerkes which knowe Astronomy, 255
Knowe certayne starres which longe to desteny:
But all their saying is nothing veritable,

Hactenus ut nosti/gratis cantauimus. ætas
Indiga paucorum merces fuit: altera longe
Conditio senii/quod nunc subit. omnium egenos
Reddit: & extinctis lucri spem uiribus aufert.
Mox erit utendum partis. modo quærere tempus
En formica breuis/sed prouida bestia condit
In brummam noua farra cauis æstate latebris.
Neue renascantur/fruges secat ore sepultas.
Sylu. Scire genethliacos fatalia sydera dicunt.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Yet heare the matter, though it be but a fable.
They say that Mercury doth Poetes fauoure,
Under Iupiter be princes of honour: 260
And men of riches, of wealth or dignitie,
And all such other as haue auctoritie:
Mercury geueth to Poetes laureate
Goodly conueyaunce, speeche pleasaunt and ornate,
Inuentife reason to sing or play on harpe, 265
In goodly ditie or balade for to carpe.
This is thy lot, what seekest thou riches?
No man hath all, this thing is true doubtlesse.
God all disposeth as he perceyueth best,
Take thou thy fortu[n]e,* and holde thee still in rest: 270
Take thou thy fortune, and holde thy selfe content,
Let vs haue riches and rowmes excellent,

Minalcas

Thou haste of riches and goodes haboundance,
And I haue dities and songes of pleasaunce:
To aske my cunning to couetous thou art, 275
Why is not thy selfe contented with thy part,
Why doest thou inuade my part and portion,
Thou wantest (Codrus) wit and discretion.

Codrus

Not so Minalcas, forsooth thou art to blame,
Of wronge inuasion to geue to me the name. 280

Hi sub mercurio uates/& sub ioue reges
Magnatesque locant: istis dat iupiter aurum.
Atque magistratus. dat maiæ filius† illis
Ingenium/linguam/citharas/& carminis artem
Hæc tua sors. quid quæris opes? deus omnia in
omnes
Diuidit/ut melius nobis uidet esse futurum.
Sorte tua contentus abi. sine cætera nobis.
Cand. Sunt tibi diuitiæ mihi carmina. quid petis ergo
Carmen? & inuadis partes Syluane alienas?

* Cawood: 'fortune.' † 'filims.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

I would no ditie nor ballade take thee fro,
 No harpe nor armes which long to Appollo:
 But onely, Minalcas, I sore desire and longe
 To geue mine eares to thy sweete sounding song.
 It feedeth hearing, and is to one pleasaunt, 285
 To heare good reason and ballade consonant.

Minalcas

If thou haue pleasure to heare my melody,
 I graunt thee Codrus to ioy my armony,
 So haue I pleasure and ioy of thy riches,
 So giftes doubled increaseth loue doubtlesse. C iv 290

Codrus

He of my riches hath ioy which loueth me,
 And who me hateth, nothing content is he.
 Enuious wretches by malice commonly
 Take others fortune and pleasure heauily.

Minalcas

In likewise mayst thou inioy of our science, 295
 And of our Muses though thou be fro presence:
 And of our cu[n]ning* thou ioyest semblably,¹
 If nought prouoke thee by malice and enuy.
 If I feede thy eares, feede thou my mouth agayne,
 I loth were to spende my giftes all in vayne. 300
 Meate vnto the mouth is foode and sustenance,
 And songes feede the eares with pleasaunce.
 I haue the Muses, if thou wilt haue of mine,

Sylu. Non tibi surripio carmen/nec apollinis arma:
 Sed dare dulcisonis aures concentibus opto.
 Cand. Si gaudere meis igitur concentibus optas/
 Nos gaudere tuis opibus Syluane decorum est.
 Sylu. Ille meis opibus gaudet qui diligit. odit
 Inuidus: atque animo bona fert aliena molesto.
 Cand. Sic quoque tu nostris absens gaudere camœnis
 Sat potes. hæc artis sat sint tibi gaudia nostræ.
 Carmina sunt auris conuiuia/caseus oris.
 Si cupis auditu fac nos gaudere palato.

* Cawood: 'cuuning.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then right requireth that I haue part of thine.
 This longeth to loue, to nourish charitee, 305
 This feedeth pitie, this doth to right agree.
 This is the pleasure and will of God aboue,
 Of him disposed for to ingender loue.
 All pleasaunt giftes one man hath not pardie,
 That one of other should haue necessitie. 310
 No man of him selfe is sure sufficient,
 This is prouision of God omnipotent.
 That one man should neede anothers assistance,
 Thereby is ioyned loue and beneuolence.
 Englande hath cloth, Burdeus hath store of wine, 315
 Cornwall hath tinne, and lymster¹ wools fine.
 London hath scarlet,² and Bristowe pleasaunt red,³
 Fen lande hath fishes, in other place is lead.
 This is of our Lorde disposed so my brother
 Because all costes should one haue neede of other. 320
 So euery tree hath fruit after his kinde,
 And diuers natures in beastes may we finde.
 Alway when nature of thing is moste laudable,
 That thing men counteth most good and profitable.
 And euery person in his owne gift hath ioy 325
 The foole in his bable hath pleasure for to toy.
 The clerke in his bookes, the merchaunt in riches,
 The knight in his horse, harnes and hardynes.
 But euery person of his giftes and art,
 When nede requireth should gladly geue some part. 330
 Suche meane conioyneth in bonde of loue certayne,
 Englande and Fraunce, Scotlande, Grece and Spain.
 So hast thou Codrus of golde ynough in store,
 And I some cunning, though fewe men care therfore.

Hoc amor/hoc pietas/hoc uult deus: *omnia non*
 dat

Omnibus/ut nemo sibi sit satis. *indigeatque*
 Alter ope alterius. *quæ res coniungit in unum*
 Omne genus. gallos/mauros/italos/& iberos.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thou art beholden to Iupiter truely, 335
 And I beholden to pleasaunt Mercury.
 Ioyne we our starres, let me haue part of thine,
 Concorde to cherishe, thou shalt haue part of mine.
 Make thou Iupiter be frendly vnto me,
 And our Mercury shalbe as good to thee. 340
 If thy Iupiter geue me but onely golde,
 Mercury shall geue thee giftes manyfolde.
 His pillion,¹ scepter, his winges and his harpe,
 If thou haue all these thou mayst grathly² carpe.
 And ouer all these geue thee shall Mercury 345
 The knot of Hercules inlaced craftyly.

Codrus

Lorde God, Minalcas, why haste thou all this payne
 Thus wise to forge so many wordes in vayne.

Minalcas

That vayne thou countest which may hurt or inlesse
 Thy loued treasure, or minishe thy riches: 350
 If thou wilt harken or heare my Muses sing,
 Refreshe my mindes with confort and liking,
 Rid me fro troubles and care of busynes,
 Confort my courage which nowe is comfortlesse.
 A clerke or poete combined with a boye,³ 355
 To haunt the Muses or write hath litle ioye.
 The wit and reason is dull or of valour
 Like as the body is called to honour.
 When busy charges causeth a man to gro[n]e,*
 The wit then slumbreth,⁴ and Muses all be gone. 360
 A ditie will haue minde quiet and respite,

Sidera iungamus. facito mihi iupiter adsit:
 Et tibi mercurius noster dabit omnia faxy.
 Pilleolum/uirgam/citharas. nodum herculis/alas.

Sylu. Vana superuacuis inculcas plurima uerbis.
 Cand. Vana inquis/quæ damna tuis inferre uidentur
 Diuitiis. si uis nostras audire camœnas/
 Erue sopitam de sollicitudine mentem.

* Cawood: 'groue.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And ease of stomake, els can none well indite,
I sighe, I slumber, care troubleth oft my thought,
When some by malice mine art setteth at nought.
I hewle as a kite for hunger and for golde,¹ 365
For thought and study my youth appereth olde:
My skin hath wrinkles and pimples round about,
For colde and study I dreade me of the gowte.
When sickenes commeth then life hath breuitie
By false vnkindnes and wretched pouertie. 370
If men were louing, benigne and charitable,
Then were pouertie both good and tollerable:
But since charitie and pitie both be gone,
What should pouertie remayne behinde alone.
No man hath pitie, eche dayneth me to feede, 375
I lost haue confort, but still remayneth neede:
I haue no wethers nor ewes in my folde,
No siluer in purse, I knowe not what is golde:
No corne on the grounde haue I whereon to fare,
Then would thou haue me to liue auoyde of care. 380
Nay nay frende Codrus, trust me, I thee assure
Such maner salues can not my dolour cure.
Make thou me iocunde, helpe me with cloth and foode,
Clothe me for winter with pilche, felt and hoode.
Auoyde all charges, let me sit in my cell, 385
Let worldly wretches with worldly matters mell.
Succoure my age, regarde my heares gray,
Then shalt thou proue and see what thing I may:

Vult hilares animos. tranquillaque pectora
carmen.

Torpeo/ut exuriem patiens & frigora miluus.
Iam dudum squarrosa cutis/situs occupat ora.
Nec pecus in stabulis/nec in agro farra/nec
aurum

In oculis/& uis positus me uiuere curis?
Non facit ad nostros talis medicina dolores.
Fac alacrem: tege/pasce/graui succurre senectæ.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Then shalt thou finde me both apt to write and sing,
 Good will shall fulfill my scarcenes of cunning, 390
 A plentifull house out chaseth thought and care,
 Soiourne doth sorowe there where all thing is bare,
 The seller couched with bere, with ale or wine,
 And¹ meates ready when man hath lust to dine.
 Great barnes full, fat wethers in the folde, 395
 The purse well stu[ff]ed²* with siluer and with golde.
 Fauour of frendes, and suche as loueth right
 All these and other do make thee full light,
 Then is it pleasure the yonge maydens amonge
 To watche by the fire the winters nightes longe: 400
 At their fonde tales to laugh, or when they brall,
 Great fire and candell spending for laboure small,
 And in the ashes some playes for to marke,
 To couer wardens³ for fault of other warke.
 To toste white sheuers,⁴ and to make prophitroles,⁵ 405
 And after talking oft time to fill the bowles.
 Where wealth aboundeth without rebuke or crime,
 Thus do some heardees for pleasure and pastime:
 As fame reporteth, such a Shepherde there was,
 Which that time liued vnder Mecenaz. 410
 And Titerus (I trowe) was this shepherdes name,
 I well remember aliuie yet is his fame.
 He songe of fieldes and tilling of the grounde,⁶
 Of shepe, of oxen, and battayle did he sounde.

Inuenies promptum uersu/ & cantare paratum.
 Plena domus curas abigit. cellaria plena.
 Plœna penus. plenique cadi. plenæque lagenæ.
 Hordea plena. greges læti: grauis ære crumena.
 Tunc iuuat hybernos noctu uigilare decembres
 Ante focum: & cineri ludos inarare bacillo.
 Torrere & tepidis tostas operire fauillis
 Castaneas: plenoque sitim restringere uitro,
 Fabellisque internentes ridere puellas,
 Tityrus ut fama est sub mœcenate uetusto
 Rura/boues/ & agros/ & martia bella canebat

* Cawood: 'stusted.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So shrill he sounded in termes eloquent, 415
 I trowe his tunes went to the firmament.
 The same Mecenas to him was free and kinde,
 Whose large giftes gaue confort to his minde:
 Also this Shepherde by heauenly influence
 I trowe obtayned his pereless eloquence. 420
 We other Shepherdes be greatly different,
 Of common sortes, leane, ragged and rent.
 Fed with rude frowise,¹ with quacham,² or with crudd,
 Or slimy kempes³ ill smelling of the mud,
 Such rusty meates inblindeth so our brayne, 425
 That of our fauour the muses haue disdayne:
 And great Apollo despiseth that we write,
 For why rude wittes but rudely do indite.⁴

Codrus

I trust on fortune, if it be fauourable,
 My trust fulfilling, then shall I well be able 430
 Thy neede to succoure, I hope after a thing,
 And if fortune fall well after my liking,
 Trust me Minalcas, I shall deliuer thee
 Out of this trouble, care and calamitie.

Minalcas

A Codrus Codrus, I would to God thy will 435
 Were this time ready thy promise to fulfill
 After the power and might that thou haste nowe.
 Thou haste ynough for both, man God auowe.
 If thy good minde according with thy might,
 At this time present thou should my heart well light. 440

Altius: & magno pulsabat sidera cantu.
 Eloquium fortuna dabat. nos debile uulgu
 Pannosus macie affectos/farragine pastos
 Aoniæ fugiunt musæ/contemnit apollo.
 Sylu. Si sperata mihi dederit fortuna quod opto/
 Candide præsentī te sollicitudine soluam.
 Cand. O utinam syluane foret tibi tanta uoluntas/
 Quanta est hac etiam tibi tempestate facultas.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

I aske not the store of Cosmus¹ or Capell,
With silken robes I couete not to mell.
No kinges dishes I couete nor desire,
Nor riche mantels, or palles wrought in Tیره:
No cloth of golde, of Tissue nor veluet, 445
Damaske nor Sattin, nor orient Scarlet.
I aske no value of Peters costly cope,
Shield of Minerua, nor patin of Esope.
I aske no palace, nor lodging curious,
No bed of state, of rayment sumptuous. 450
For this I learned of the Dean of Powles,²
I tell thee Codrus, this man hath won some soules.
I aske no treasure nor store of worldly good,
But a quiet life, and onely cloth and foode,
With homely lodging to keepe me warme and drye 455
Induring my life, forsooth no more aske I.
If I were certayne this liuing still to haue,
Auoyde of trouble, no more of God I craue.

Codrus

This liuing haste thou, what needest thou complayne,
Nothing thou wantest which may thy life sustayne: 460
What feeble man, pardie thy chekes be not thin,
No lacke of vitayle causeth a double chin.

Minalcas

Some beast is lustie and fat of his nature,
Though he sore laboure, and go in bad pasture.
And some beast agayne still leane and poore is seene, 465

Non ego diuitias cosmi non serica posco
Pallia/non tyrias chlamides/non prandia regum.
Non patinam esopi fameo/clypeumue mineruæ.
Nil opus est regis laribus/cui ferrea nomen
Tradidit/aut si mens non fallitur/ænea barba.
Hæc me iam pridem memini didicisse sub um-
bro.³

Postulo uestitum/peto uictum sub lare paruo
Certior istud opis toti non defore uitæ.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Though it fatly fare within a medowe greene.
Though thou would (Codrus) stil argue til to morow,
I licke no dishes which sauced be with sorowe.
Better one small dish with ioy and heart liking
Then diuers daynties with murmure and grutching.¹ 470
And men vnlearned can neuer be content,
When scolers common, and clerkes be present.
Assoone as clerkes begin to talke and chat,
Some other glowmes,² and hath enuy thereat.
It is a torment a clerke to sit at borde, 475
And of his learning not for to talke one worde.
Better were to be with clerkes with a crust,
Then at such tables to fare at will and lust.
Let me haue the borde of olde Pithagoras,
Which of temperaunce a very father was. 480
Of Philosophers the moderate riches,
In youth or age I loued neuer excesse.
Some boast and promise, and put men in confort
Of large giftes, moste men be of this sort,
With mouth and promise for to be liberall, 485
When nede requireth, then geue they nought at all.
All onely in thee is fixed all my trust,
If thou fayle promise then rowle I in the dust,
My hope is faded, then shall my songe be dom
Like a Nightingale at the solstitium. 490
If thou fayle promise, my comfort cleane is lost,
Then may I hange my pipe vpon the poste:
Shet the shopwindowes for lacke of marchaundice,
Or els for because that easy is the price.

Sint mihi pytagoreæ mensæ codrique supellex.
Sæpe alios qui spem dederint inuenimus ore
Magnificos/sed re modicos. tibi fidimus uni.
Tu mihi si fueris mendax/præciditur omnis
Spes: ut solsticio fiam philomena reuerso
Mutus/& elinguis. suspendere postibus arma
Tempus erit/clausoque abigi spectacula circo.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Codrus

Minalcas, if thou the court of Rome haste seene, 495
 With forked cappes¹ or els if thou haste beene,
 Or noble Prelates by riches excellent,
 Thou well perceyuest they be magnificent.
 With them be clerkes and pleasaunt Oratours,
 And many Poetes promoted to honours, 500
 There is aboundaunce of all that men desire,
 There men hath honour before they it require:
 In such fayre fieldes without labour or payne
 Both wealth and riches thou lightly mayst obtayne.

Minalcas

Thou art abused, and thinkest wrong doubtlesse 505
 To thinke that I am desirous of riches.
 To feede on rawe fleshe it is a wolues gise,
 Wherefore he weneth all beastes do likewise.
 Because the blinde man halteth and is lame,
 In minde he thinketh that all men do the same. 510
 So for that thy selfe desirest good in store,
 All men thou iudget infected with like sore.
 Codrus, I couet not to haue aboundaunce,
 Small thing me pleaseth, I aske but suffisaunce.
 Graunt me a liuing sufficient and small, 515
 And voyde of troubles, I aske no more at all.
 But with that litle I holde my selfe content,
 If sauce of sorowe my mindes not torment.

Sylu. Candide uidisti* romam/sanctique senatus
 Pontifices/ubi tot uates/ubi copia rerum
 Tantarum? facile est illis ditescere campis.
 Cand. Deciperis me uelle putans ditescere. uesci
 Et lupus omne animal crudis existimat escis.
 Tuque putas alios quo tu pede claudere† passum.
 Non ego ditari cupio: sed uiuere paruo.
 Fac habeam tenuem sine solitudine uictum.

* 'nidisti' † 'clandere'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Of the court of Rome forsooth I haue heard tell,
With forked cappes it folly is to mell. 520

Micene¹ and Morton be dead and gone certayne,
They, nor their like shall neuer returne agayne.

O Codrus Codrus, Augustus and Edward²
Be gone for euer, our fortune is more harde.

The scarlet robes in songe haue small delite, 525
What should I trauayle, in Rome is no profite.

It geueth mockes and scornes manyfolde,
Still catching coyne, and gaping after golde,

Fraude and disceyte doth all the world fill, 530
And money reyneth and doth all thing at will.

And for that people would more intende to gile,
Vertue and truth be driuen into exile.

We are commaunded to trust for time to come
Till care and sorowe hath wasted our wisdom.

Hope of rewarde hath Poetes them to feede, 535
Nowe in the worlde fayre wordes be their mede.

Codrus

Then write of battayles, or actes of men bolde,
Or mightie princes, they may thee well vpholde,

These worthy rulers of fame and name royall
Of very reason ought to be liberall.

Some shalt thou finde betwene this place and Kent, 540
Which for thy labour shall thee right well content.

Hoc contentus eam romana palatia uidi.

Sed quid romana putas mihi proderit? o syluane

Occidit augustus nunquam rediturus ab orco.

Si quid romana dabit/nugas dabit/accipit aurum

Verba dat. heu romæ nunc sola pecunia regnat.

Exilium uirtus patitur? sperare iubemur

Vndique & in toto uates spe pascimur orbe.

Sylu. Dic pugnas/dic gesta uirum/dic prælia regum.

Vertere ad hos/qui sceptra tenent/qui regna
gubernant.

Inuenies qui te de sordibus eruat istis.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Minalcas

Yea, some shall I finde which be so prodigall,
That in vayne thinges spende and cleane wasteth all;
But howe should that man my pouertie sustayne, 545
Which nought reserueth his honoure to mayntayne.
For auncient bloud nor auncient honoure
In these our dayes be nought without treasure.
The coyne auaunceth, neede doth the name deiect;
And where is treasure olde honour hath effect. 550
But suche as be riche and in promotion
Shall haue my writing but in derision.
For in this season great men of excellence,
Haue to poemes no greater reuerence, C v
Then to a brothell or els a brothelhouse, 555
Mad ignoraunce is so contagious.

Codrus

It is not seming a Poet thus to iest
In wrathfull speeche, nor wordes dishonest.

Minalcas

It is no iesting be thou neuer so wroth,
In open language to say nothing but troth: 560
If peradventure thou would haue troth kept still,
Prouoke thou not me to anger at thy will.
When wrath is moued, then reason hath no might,
The tonge forgetteth discretion and right.

Codrus

To moue thy minde I truely were full lothe, 565
To geue good counsell is farre from being wroth.

-
- Cand. Inueniam qui me derideat: & subsannet.
Tempestate ista reuerentia tanta pœsi/
Quanta lupanari. quid me syluane laccessis?
Sylu. Non decet obscœnis uatem prorumpere uerbis.
Cand. Non possum non uera loqui: si uera taceri
Forte uelis/leuibus me parce laccessere dictis.
Sylu. Vtile consilium prestare/laccessere non est.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Minalcas

As touching counsell, my minde is plentifull,
But neede and troubles make all my reason dull,
If I had counsell and golde in like plentie,
I tell thee Codrus, I had no neede of thee. 570
Howe should a Poet, poore, bare and indigent,
Indite the actes of princes excellent,
While scant is he worth a knife his pipe to mende,
To rounde the holes, to clense or picke the ende.
Beholde, my whittle almoste hath lost the blade, 575
So long time past is sith the same was made:
The haft is bruised, the blade not worth a strawe,
Rusty and toothed, not much vnlike a sawe.
But touching this hurt, it is but light and small,
But care and trouble is grievous payne withall. 580
Good counsell helpeth, making the wittes stable,
Ill counsell maketh the mindes variable,
And breaketh the brayne, diminishing the strength,
And all the reason confoundeth at the length.
Great men are shamed to geue thing poore or small, 585
And great they denye, thus geue they nought at all.
Beside this (Codrus) princes and men royall
In our inditinges haue pleasure faint and small.

Cand. Consilii locuples ego: sed pauperrimus auri.
Qui pugnās/qui gesta uirum/qui prœlia regum
Dicet inops uates/cui nec quo fistula possit
Aptius incidi/ferique foramina/culter?
Aspice ut excussis luxata manubria clauis/
Vt dentata acies/ueterique simillima serræ.
Hoc leue. sed mensæ graue & intolerabile
damnum.
Vtile consilium firmat/sed inutile mentem
Frangit: & extenuat uires/animumque retundit.
Magnates dare parua pudet / dare magna re-
cusant.
Adde quod & nostri curant ita carmina reges/

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

So much power haue they with men of might,
As simple doues when Egles take their flight: 590
Or as great windes careth for leaues drye.
They liue in pleasure and wealth continually,
In lust their liking is, and in ydlenes,
Fewe haue their mindes cleane from all viciousnes:
Pleasure is thing whereto they moste intende, 595
That they moste cherishe, they would haue men
concond.'

If Poetes should their maners magnify,
They were supporters of blame and lechery:
Then should their writing be nothing commendable,
Conteyning iestes and deedes detestable 600
Of stinking Uenus or loue inordinate,
Of ribaude wordes which fall not for a state,
Of right oppressed, and beastly gluttony,
Of vice aduaunced, of slouth and iniury,
And other deedes infame and worthy blame, 605
Which were ouerlonge here to recount or name.
These to commende (Codrus) do not agree
To any Poete which loueth chastitie.

Codrus

What yes Minalcas, some haue bene stronge and bolde,
Which haue in battayle done actes manyfolde, 610
With mighty courage hauing them in fight,
And boldly biding for to maynteyne the right.
To thee could I nowe rehearse well nere a score
Of lust nor riches setting no force ne store.
Despising oft golde, sweete fare and beddes soft, 615

Vt frondes aquilo/mare libs/uineta pruinæ.
Ipsi ad delitias reges & ad ocia uersi
Quod celebrant laudari optant. hinc carmina
manant
Perdita de studio ueneris/de scurrilitate/
De ganea/de segnitie/de infamibus actis:
Quæ castum capitale nefas celebrare poetam.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Which in colde harnes lye on the grounde full oft,
Closed in yron, which when their woundes blede,
Want bread and drinke them to restore and feede.
While some haue pleasure in softe golde orient,
With colde harde yron their minde is well content. 620
Such were the sonnes of noble lorde Hawarde,¹
Whose famous actes may shame a faint coward.
What could they more but their swete liues spende,
Their princes quarell and right for to defende:
Alas that battayle should be of that rigour, 625
When fame and honour riseth and is in floure,
With sodayne furour then all to quenche agayne,
But boldest heartes be nerest death certayne.

Minalcas

For certayne (Codrus) I can not that denye,
But some in battayle behaue them manfully, 630
Such as in battayle do actes marciall,
Laude worthy Poetes and stile heroicall:
The pleasaunt Muses which soundeth grauitie
Had helpe and fauour while these were in degree.
But sith stronge knightes hath left their exercise, 635
And manly vertue corrupted is with vice,
The famous Poetes which ornately indite
Haue founde no matter whereof to singe or write.
The wit thus dyeth of poetes auncient,
So doth their writing and ditie eloquent. 640
For lacke of custome, thought, care and penury,
These be confounders of pleasaunt poecy.

At qui dura manu gesserunt bella potenti
Fortiter utentes ferro/non molliter auro/
Diluxere graues musas. heroica facta
Qui faciunt reges heroica carmina laudant.
Vt cessere uiri fortes/& mascula uirtus/
Dicendum altiloqui nihil inuenere poetæ.
Occidit ingenium uatum: ruit alta pœsis.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But if some prince, some king or conquerour
 Hath won in armes or battayle great honour:
 Full litle they force for to delate their fame, 645
 That other realmes may laude or prayse their name.
 Of time for to come they force nothing at all,
 By fame and honour to liue as immortall:
 It them suffiseth, they count ynough truely
 That their owne realmes their names magnify. 650
 And that for their life they may haue laude and fame,
 After their death then seeke they for no name.
 And some be vntaught and learned no science,
 Or els they disdayne hye stile of eloquence:
 Then standeth the Poet and his poeme arere, 655
 When princes disdayne them for to reade or here.
 Or els some other is drowned all in golde,
 By couetise kept in cares manyfolde.
 By flagrant ardour inflamed in suche case,
 As in time past the olde king Midas was. 660
 Then of poemes full small pleasure hath he,
 Couetise and clergy¹ full lewdly do agree.
 Beside this (Codrus) with princes commonly
 Be vntaught courtiers fulfilled with enuy.
 Iugglers and Pipers, bourders and flatterers, 665
 Baudes and Ianglers, and cursed aduoutrers:
 And mo such other of liuing vicious,
 To whom is vertue aduerse and odious.

At si forte aliquis regum gerit aspera bella.
 Et decus armorum studiis belloque parauit.
 Nil genus externum uenturaque sæcula curat.
 Laude suæ gentis satur/& præsentibus annis.
 Barbarus est: neque carmen amat/uel auarus in
 auro
 Mergitur: atque midæ curis flagrantibus ardet.
 Est & apud reges. rudis/inuida/rustica turba:
 Mimmus/adulator/læno/assentator/adulter:
 Histrio/scurra: quibus uirtus odiosa. poetas

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

These do good Poetes forth of all courtes chase,
By thousande maners of threatning and manace, 670
Sometime by fraudes, sometime by ill reporte,
And them assisteth all other of their sort:
Like as when cures light on a carion,
Or stinking rauens fed with corruption:
These two all other away do beate and chace, 675
Because they alone would occupy the place.
For vnto cures is carion moste meete,
And also rauens fele stinking thinges sweete.
Another thing yet is greatly more damnable,
Of rascolde poetes yet is a shamfull rable, 680
Which voyde of wisdome presumeth to indite,
Though they haue scantly the cunning of a snite:¹
And to what vices that princes moste intende,
Those dare these fooles solemnize and commende.
Then is he decked as Poete laureate, 685
When stinking Thais made him her graduate.
When Muses rested, she did her season note,
And she with Bacchus her camous² did promote:
Such rascolde drames³ promoted by Thais,
Bacchus, Licoris, or yet by Testalis, 690
Or by suche other newe forged Muses nine
Thinke in their mindes for to haue wit diuine.
They laude their verses, they boast, they vaunt and iet,
Though all their cunning be scantly worth a pet.
If they haue smelled the artes triniall, 695

Mille modis abigunt: ut quando cadauera corui
Inuenere/fugant alias uolucresque ferasque.
Sunt etiam uates quidam sine lege petulci/⁴
Qui sine lege aliti sine præceptoribus audent
Quicquid amant reges/& amant infamia solum
Scribere. nam uates etiam dementia uexat.
Hi se nescio qua mentis leuitate poetas
Esse uolunt postquam triuialibus ora cicutis
Applicuere. sibi applaudunt: sua carmina iactant

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

They count them Poetes hye and heroicall.
Such is their folly, so foolishly they dote,
Thinking that none can their playne errorr note:
Yet be they foolishe, auoyde of honestie,
Nothing seasoned with spice of grauitie, 700
Auoyde of pleasure, auoyde of eloquence,
With many wordes, and fruitlesse of sentence.
Unapt to learne, disdayning to be taught,¹
Their priuate pleasure in snare hath them so caught:
And worst yet of all, they count them excellent, 705
Though they be fruitlesse, rashe and improuident.
To such Ambages who doth their minde incline,
They count all other as priuate of² doctrine,
And that the faultes which be in them alone,
Also be common in other men eche one. 710
Thus bide good Poetes oft time rebuke and blame,
Because of other which haue despised name.
And thus for the bad the good be cleane abiect,
Their art and poeme counted of none effect.
Who wanteth reason good to discerne from ill 715
Doth worthy writers interpret at his will:
So both the laudes of good and not laudable
For lacke of knowledge become vituperable.

Codrus

In fayth Minalcas, I well allowe thy wit,
Yet would I gladly heare nowe some mery fit 720
Of mayde Marion, or els of Robin hood,
Or Bentleyes ale which chaseth well the bloud:
Of perte of Norwiche, or sauce of Wilberton,³
Or buckishe Ioly well stuffed as a ton:
Talke of the bottell, let go the booke for nowe, 725
Combrous is cunning I make to God a vowe.

Insulsi/illepidi/indociles/improuidi/inepti.
Qui solet his uacuas præbere ambagibus aures
Id uicium commune putat. doctisque resistit
Vatibus a uero indoctus discernere falsum.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Speake of some matter which may refresh my brayne,
Trust me Minalcas, I shall rewarde thy payne.
Els talke of stoutenes, where is more brayne then wit,
Place moste abused that we haue spoke of yet. 730

Minalcas

Of all these thinges language to multiply,
Except I lyed, should be but vilany.
It is not seeming a Poete one to blame
All if his hauour hath won diffamed name.
And though such beastes pursue me with enuy, 735
Malgre for malice, that payment I defye.
My master teacheth, so doth reason and skill,
That man should restore, and render good for ill.

Codrus

Then talke of somewhat, lo it is longe to night,
Yet hath the sonne more then an houre of light, 740

Minalcas

If I ought common sounding to grauitie,
I feare to obtayne but small rewarde of thee:
But if I common of vice or wantonnes,
Then of our Lorde shall my rewarde be lesse,
Wherfore my ballade shall haue conclusion 745
On fruitfull clauses of noble Salomon.

Codrus

Sing on Minalcas, he may do litle thing,
Which to a ballade disdayneth the hearing:
But if thy ditie accorde not to my minde,
Then my rewarde and promise is behinde, 750
By mans maners it lightly doth appere,
What men desire, that loue they for to here.

Minalcas

Though in thy promise I finde no certentie,
Yet of my cunning shalt thou haue part of me,
I call no muses to geue to me doctrine, 755
But ayde and confort of strength and might diuine,
To clere my reason with wisdom and prudence
To sing one ballade extract of sapience.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

AS medoes paynted with floures redolent
The sight reioyce of suche as them beholde: 760
So man indued with vertue excellent
Fragrantly shineth with beames manyfolde.
Uertue with wisdomed exceedeth store of gold,
If riches abound, set not on them thy trust.
When strength is sturdy, then man is pert and bolde, 765
But wit and wisdomed soone lay him in the dust.

That man is beastly which sueth carnall lust,
Spende not on women thy riches or substaunce,
For lacke of vsing as stele or yron rust,
So rusteth reason by wilfull ignoraunce. 770
In fraudfull beautie set but small pleasaunce,
A pleasaunt apple is oft corrupt within,
Grounde thee in youth on goodly gouernaunce,
It is good token when man doth well begin.

Ioy not in malice, that is a mortall sinne, 775
Man is perceyued by language and doctrine,
Better is to lose then wrongfully to winne,
He loueth wisdomed which loueth discipline:
Rashe enterprises oft bringeth to ruine,
A man may contende, God geueth victory, 780
Set neuer thy minde on thing which is not thine,
Trust not in honour, all wealth is transitory,

Combine thou thy tonge with reason and memory,
Speake not to hasty without aduisement,
So liue in this life that thou mayst trust on glory, 785
Which is not caduke, but lasting permanent.
There is no secrete with people vinolent,
By beastly surfeit the life is breuiate,
Though some haue pleasure in sumptuous garment,
Yet goodly maners him maketh more ornate. 790

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Codrus

Ho there Minalcas, of this haue we ynough,
What should a Ploughman go farther then his plough,
What should a shepherde in wisdomes wade so farre,
Talke he of tankarde, or of his boxe of tarre.
Tell somewhat els, wherein is more conforte, 795
So shall the season and time seeme light and short.

Minalcas

For thou of Hawarde nowe lately did recite,
I haue a ditie which Cornix^r did indite:
His death complayning, but it is lamentable
To heare a Captayne so good and honorable, 800
So soone withdrawen by deathes crueltie,
Before his vertue was at moste hye degree.
If death for a season had shewed him fauour,
To all his nation he should haue bene honour,
Alas, bolde heartes be nerest death in warre, 805
When out of daunger cowardes stande a farre.

Codrus

All if that ditie be neuer so lamentable,
Refrayne my teares I shall as I am able, C vj
Begin Minalcas, tell of the bolde hawarde,
If fortune fauour hope after some rewarde. 810

Minalcas

I pray thee Codrus (my whey is weake and thin)
Lende me thy bottell to drinke or I begin.

Codrus

If ought be tasted, the remnant shall pall,
I may not aforde nowe for to spende out all.
We sit in shadowe, the Sunne is not feruent, 815
Call for it after, then shall I be content.

Minalcas

Still thou desirest thy pleasure of my art,
But of thy bottell nought wilt thou yet depart,
Though thou be nigard, and nought wilt geue of thine,
Yet this one time thou shalt haue part of mine. 820
Nowe harken Codrus, I tell mine elegy,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But small is the pleasure of dolefull armony.¹

The description of the Towvre of *vertue and honour*,
into the which the noble Hawarde contended *to enter by*
*worthy actes of chivalry.*¹

Minalcas speaketh

High on a mountayne of highnes maruelous,
With pendant cliffes of stones harde as flent,
Is made a castell or toure moste curious, 825
Dreadfull vnto sight, but inwarde excellent.
Such as would enter finde paynes and torment,
So harde is the way vnto the same mountayne,
Streight, hye and thorny, turning and different,
That many labour for to ascende in vayne. 830

Who doth perseuer, and to this towre attayne,
Shall haue great pleasure to see the building olde,
Ioyned and graued, surmounting mans brayne,
And all the walles within of fynest golde, 835
With olde historyes, and pictures manyfolde,
Glistering as bright as Phebus orient,
With marble pillers the building to vpholde,
About be turrets of shape moste excellent.

This towre is gotten by labour diligent,
In it remayne such as haue won honoure 840
By holy liuing, by strength or tournament,
And moste by wisdomes attayne vnto this towre:
Briefely, all people of godly behauour,
By rightwise battayle, iustice and equitie,
Or that in mercy hath had a chiefe pleasour: 845
In it haue rowmes eche after his degree,

This goodly Castell (thus shining in beautie)
Is named Castell of vertue and honour,
In it eyght Henry is in his maiestie

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Moste hye enhaunsed as ought a conquerour: 850
In it remayneth the worthy gouvernour,
A stocke and fountayne of noble progeny,
Moste noble Hawarde the duke and protectour,
Named of Northfolke the flour of chialry.

Here is the Talbot¹ manfull and hardy, 855
With other princes and men of dignitie,
Which to win honour do all their might apply,
Supporting Iustice, concorde and equitie:
The manly Corson² within this towre I see,
These haue we seene eche one in his estate, 860
With many other of hye and meane degree,
For marciall actes with crownes laureate.

Of this stronge castell is porter at the gate
Strong sturdy labour, much like a champion,
But goodly vertue a lady moste ornate 865
Within governeth with great prouision:
But of this castell in the moste hiest trone
Is honour shining in rowme imperiall,
Which vnrewarded of them leaueth not one
That come by labour and vertue principall. 870

Fearefull is labour without fauour at all,
Dreadfull of visage, a monster intreatable,
Like Cerberus lying at gates infernall,
To some men his looke is halfe intollerable, 875
His shoulders large, for burthen strong and able,
His body bristled, his necke mightie and stiffe,
By sturdy senewes his ioyntes stronge and stable,
Like marble stones his handes be as stiffe.

Here must man vanquishe the dragon of Cadmus,
Against the Chimer here stoutly must he fight, 880
Here must he vanquish the fearefull Pegasus,
For the golden flece here must he shewe his might:

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

If labour gaynsay, he can nothing be right,
This monster labour oft chaungeth his figure,
Sometime an oxe, a bore, or lion wight 885
Playnely he seeme[t]h,* thus chaungeth his nature.

Like as Protheus oft chaunged his stature,
Mutable of figure oft times in one houre,
When Aristeus in bondes had him sure:
To diuers figures likewise chaungeth labour, 890
Under his browes he dreadfully doth loure,
With glistering eyen, and side dependaunt beard,
For thirst and hunger alway his chere is soure,
His horned forehead doth make faynt heartes feard.

Alway he drinketh, and yet alway is drye, 895
The sweat distilling with droppes aboundaunt,
His breast and forehead doth humours multiply
By sweating showres, yet is this payne pleasaunt:
Of day and night his resting time is scant,
No day ouerpassest exempt of busynes, 900
His sight infourmeth the rude and ignorant,
Who dare perseuer, he geueth them riches.

None he auaunceth but after stedfastnes,
Of litle burthen his bely is, and small,
His mighty thyes his vigour doth expres, 905
His shankes sturdy, and large feete withall:
By wrath he rageth, and still doth chide and brall,*
Such as would enter repelling with his crye,
As well estates as homely men rurall
At the first entry he threatneth yrefully. 910

I trowe olde fathers (whom men nowe magnify),
Called this monster Minerua stoute and soure,
For strength and senewes of man moste commonly
Are tame and febled by cures and laboure.

* Cawood: 'seemeeh.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Great Hercules the mighty conquerour 915
Was by this monster ouercome* and superate,¹
All if he before vnto his great honour
The sonne of Uenus had strongly subiugate.

Who would with honour be purely laureate,
Must with this monster longe time before contende, 920
But lightly is man ouercome and fatigate,
To lady vertue if he not well intende:
When strength is febled she helpeth at the ende,
Opening the gates and passage to honour,
By whose assistaunce soone may a man ascende 925
The hye degrees of the triumphant Tour.

Mankinde inflamed by goodly behauour
Of lady vertue come to this towre with payne,
But for the entree pretendeth them rigour
Many one abasheth, rebuking backe agayne: 930
To purchase honour they would be glad and fayne,
But fearefull labour, the porter is so fell,
To them proclaiming, their enterprise is vayne,
Except they before with him contende and mell.

Here moste of all muste mans might excell 935
With stedfast courage and sure perseueraunce,
Els shall this monster him backe agayne repell,
But man preuayleth by long continuaunce.
No costly treasour nor lewell of pleasaunce
Without price or payne can man in earth come by: 940
So without labour doth vertue none aduaunce
To parfite honour and noble seignory.

Faynt cowarde mindes soone at the first escry
Of sturdie labour, fall to the grounde as lame,
Els runne they backwarde fast fleing cowardly, 945
As hartles wretches caring nothing for shame:
But noble heartes to win immortall name,

* Cawood: 'ouerccome.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Fight at these gates till they ouercome labour,
Then lady vertue with good report and fame
Suche knightes gideth to laude and hye honour. 950

But cruell fortune to some is harde and soure,
That after trauell and many deadly wounde,
When lady vertue should graunt to them this toure
Then frowarde fortune them beateth to the ground:
Of this examples ouer many do abounde, 955
But chiefly this one, the noble lorde Hawarde,
When he chiefe honour was worthy to haue founde,
False death and fortune bereft him his rewarde.

Longe he contended in battayle strong and harde,
With payne and labour, with might repelling wrong, 960
No backe he turned as doth some faint cowarde,
But with this monster boldly contended long,
When he had broken the locke and doores stronge,
Ouercome the porter, and should ascende the toure,
To liue in honour hye conquerours amonge, 965
Then cruell fortune and death did him deuoure.

Though he were borne to glory and honour,
Of auncient stocke and noble progenie,
Yet thought his courage to be of more valour,
By his owne actes and noble chivalry. 970
Like as becommeth a knight to fortifye
His princes quarell with right and equitie,
So did this hawarde with courage valiauntly,
Till death abated his bolde audacitie.

O happy Samson more fortunate then he 975
Onely in strength, but not in hye courage,
O cruell fortune why durst thy crueltie
This floure of knighthood to slea in lusty age,
Thou hast debated the floure of his linage,
If thou had mercy bewayle his death thou might, 980

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

For cruell lions and mo beastes sauage
Long time not ceased for to bewayle this knight,

[O]* death thou haste done agaynst both lawe and right¹
To spare a cowarde without daunger or wounde,
And thus soone to quench of chiuallry the light, 985
O death enuious moste enemie to our grounde,
What moste auayleth thou soonest doest confounde:
Why did not vertue assist hir champion?
Thou might haue ayded, for soothly thou was bounde,
For during his life he loued thee alone, 990

O God almightie in thy eternall trone,
To whom all vertue is deare and acceptable,
If reason suffred to thee our crye and mone,
This dede might impute and fortune lamentable,
Thou might haue left vs this knight moste honorable, 995
Our wealth and honour to haue kept in degree:
Alas why hath death so false and discēyuable,
Mankinde to torment this will and libertie?

It quencheth vertue, sparing iniquitie,
The best it striketh, of bad hauing disdayne, 1000
No helpe nor comfort hath our aduersitie,
Death dayly striketh though dayly we complayne:
To treate a tiran it is but thing in vayne,
Mekenes prouoketh his wrath and tyranny,
So at our prayer death hath the more disdayne, 1005
We do by mekenes his furour multiply.

If some fell tiran replete with villany
Should thus haue ending the dede were commendable;
But a stoute captayne disposed to mercy
So soone thus faded, the case is lamentable, 1010
Was he not humble, iocunde and companable,
No man despising, and first in all labour,

* Cawood: 'N.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Right wise with mercy debonair and trefable,
Mate and companion with euery souldier.

Uice he subdued by goodly behauour, 1015
Like as a rider doth a wilde stede subdue,
His body subiect, his soule was gouernour,
From vice withdrawen to goodnes and vertue,
When pride rebelled mekenes did it eschue,
Free minde and almes subdued auarice: 1020
Alway he noted this saying iuste and true,
That noble mindes despised couetise.

His death declareth that slouth he did despise,
By hardie courage as fyrst in ieopardie,
Alway he vsed some noble exercise, 1025
Suche as belongeth to worthy chiuallrie,
In him was there founde no sparkle of enuy,
Alway he lauded and praysed worthynes,
Suche as were doughtie rewarding largely,
Wrath saue in season he wisely coulde repres. 1030

Of wine or Bacchus despised he excesse,
For mindes kindled to actes marciall,
Seking for honour and name of doughtinesse,
Despiseth surfet and liuing bestiall,
In him no power hath luste venereall, 1035
For busy labour and pleasaunt abstinence
All corporall lust soone causeth for to fall,
No lust subdueth where reigneth diligence.

He was a piller of sober countenaunce,
His onely treasour and iewell was good name, 1040
But O cursed death thy wrathfull violence,
By stroke vnwarned halfe blinded of his fame,
Whom may I accuse, whom may I put in blame,
God for death, or fortune, or impotent nature,
God doth his pleasour, and death will haue the same, 1045

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Nature was mightie longe able to endure,

In fortune is the fault nowe am I sure,
I would if I durst his tyranny accuse:
O cursed fortune if thou be creature,
Who gaue thee power thus people to abuse. Di 1050
Thy mutable might me causeth oft to muse,
When man is plunged in dolour and distresse,
Thy face thou chaungest which did earst refuse,
By sodayne chaunces him lifting to richesse.

And suche as longe time haue liued in noblenes 1055
Anone thou plungest in payne and pouertie,
Wealth, honour, strength, right, iustice and goodnes,
Misery, dolour, lowe rowme, iniquitie,
These thou rewardest like as it pleaseth thee,
To mans merite without respect at all, 1060
One this day being in great authoritie,
Agayne to morowe thou causest for to fall.

When man is worthy a rowme imperiall,
On him thou glowmest with frowarde countenance,
Weake is thy promis reuoluing as a ball, 1065
Thou hast no fauour to godly gouernaunce,
No man by merite thou vvest to aduaunce,
O blinded fortune ofte time infortunate,
When man thee trusteth then falleth some mischaunce,
Unwarely chaunging his fortune and estate. 1070

Tell me frayle fortune, why did thou breuiate
The liuing season of suche a captayne,
That when his actes ought to be laureate
Thy fauour turned him suffring to be slayne?
I blame thee fortune and thee excuse agayne, 1075
For though thy fauour to him was rigorous,
Suche is thy custome for to be vncertayne,
And namely when man is hye and glorious.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

But moste worthy duke hye and victorious,
Respire to comfort, see the vncertentie 1080
Of other princes, whose fortune prosperous
Oftetime haue ended in harde aduersitie:
Read of Pompeius whose pereles dignitie
Agaynst great Cesar did wealth of Rome defende,
Whom after fortune brought in captiuitie, 1085
And he in Egipt was headed at the ende.

In likewise Cesar which did with him contende
When all the worlde to him was subiugate,
From his hye honour did sodenly descende,
Murdred in Rome by chaunce infortunate. 1090
Cato and Seneke, with Tully laureate,
These and mo like for all their sapience
Hath proued fortune, sore blinding their estate,
By wrongfull slaunders and deadly violence.

To poore and riche it hath no difference, 1095
Olde Policrates supposing perill past,
With death dishonest ended his excellence,
Great Alexander by fortune was downe cast,
One draught of poyson him filled at the last,
Whom all the worlde earst could not saciate: 1100
What is all honour and power but a blast,
When fortune threatneth the life to breuiate.

Beholde on Pirrus the king infortunate
With a small stone dead prostrate vpon the groundes,
See Ualerian brought downe from his estate, 1105
From his empire in Percy thrall and bounde.
Of olde Priamus it is in writing founde,
Howe he by Pyrrus was in his palace slayne,
Paris and Hector receyued mortall wounde,
To trust in fortune it is a thing in vayne. 1110

The mightie Cyrus a king of Realmes twayne

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Was slayne and his hoste of Thomiris the quene,
Thus is no matter of fortune to complayne,
All that newe falleth of olde time hath bene sene,
This shall be, this is, and this hath euer bene, 1115
That boldest heartes be nearest ieopardie,
To dye in battayle is honour as men wene
To suche as haue ioy in haunting chiualry.

Suche famous ending the name doth magnifie,
Note worthy duke, no cause is to complayne, 1120
His life not ended foule nor dishonestly,
In bed^r nor tauerne his lustes to maynteyne,
But like as besemed a noble captayne,
In sturdie harnes he died for the right,
From deathes daunger no man may flee certayne, 1125
But suche death is metest vnto so noble a knight.

But death it to call me thinke it vnright,
Sith his worthy name shall laste perpetuall,
To all his nation example and clere light,
But to his progeny moste specially of all, 1130
His soule is in pleasour of glory eternall,
So duke most doughty ioy may that noble tree,
Whose braunches honour shall neuer fade ne fall,
While beast is on earth or fishes in the sea.

Lo Codrus I here haue tolde thee by and by 1135
Of shepheard Cornix the wofull elegy,
Wherin he mourned the greeuous payne and harde,
And laste departing of the noble lorde Hawarde,
More he indited of this good Admirall,
But truely Codrus I can not tell thee all. 1140

Codrus

Minalcas I sweare by holy Peters cope,

Sylu. Candide per superos per olympica numina iuro

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

If all thing fortune as I haue trust and hope,
If happy winde blowe I shall or it be longe
Comfort thy sorowe and well rewarde thy songe,
What tary man a while till better fortune come, 1145
If my part be any then shall thy part be some.

Minalcas

If thou in purpose so to rewarde my hire,
God graunt thee Codrus thy wishing and desire.

Codrus

Forsooth Minalcas I wishe thee so in dede,
And that shalt thou knowe if fortune with me spede, 1150
Farewell Minalcas, for this time, dieu te garde,
Neare is winter the worlde is to harde.

Minalcas

Go wretched nigarde, God sende thee care and payne,
Our Lorde let thee neuer come hither more agayne,
And as did Midas, God turne it all to golde 1155
That euer thou touchest or shalt in handes holde,
For so muche on golde is fixed thy liking,
That thou despisest both vertue and cunning.

Thus endeth the fourth Egloge

Me tibi (si uenti ueniant ad uela secundi)
Laturum auxilium meliora in tempora uiue.
Nec paulisper adhuc mecum sperare recusa.

Cand. Si mihi sic optas/tibi sit Syluane quod optas
Sylu. Opto equidem: dictumque fides non sera se-
quetur.

Cand. Vade malis auibus nunquam rediturus auare:
Et facias subito quicquid tractaueris aurum
More midæ: quando uirtus tibi uilior auro:

FINIS

The fyfth Egloge of Alexander Barclay, entituled^t
Amintas and Faustus, of the disputation of Citzens
and men of the Countrey.

The Argument

IN colde Ianuary when fire is comfortable,
And that the fieldes be nere intollerable,
When shepe and pastours leaueth fieldes & folde,
And drawe to cotes for to eschue the colde,
What time the verdure of ground and euery tree, 5
By frost and stormes is priuate of beautee,
And euery small birde thinketh the winter longe,
Which well appeareth by ceasing of their songe.
At this same season two herdes freshe of age
At time appoynted met both in one cotage, 10
The first hight Faustus, the seconde Amintas,
Harde was to knowe which better husbände was,
For eche of them both set more by his pleasour
Then by aboundaunce of riches or treasour.
Amintas was formall and proper in his geare, 15
A man on his cloke should not espye² a heare,
Nor of his clothing one wrinkle stande³ a wry,
In London he learned to go so manerly,
High on his bonet stacke a fayre brouche of tinne,⁴
His purses lining was simple, poore and thinne: 20
But a lordes stomake and a beggers pouche⁵
Full ill accordeth, suche was this comely slouch,⁶
In the towne and citie so longe ietted⁷ had he
That from thence he fled for det and pouertie,
No wafrer, tauerne, alehouse or tauerner, 25
To him was there hid while he was hosteler,
First was he hosteler, and then a wafrer,
Then a costermonger, and last a tauerner,
About all London there was no proper prim⁸
But long time had bene familier with him, 30
But when coyne fayled no fauour more had he,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Wherefore he was glad out of the towne to flee.
But shepheard Faustus was yet more fortunate,
For alway was he content with his estate,
Yet nothing he had to comfort him in age, 35
Saue a milch cowe and a poore cotage,
The towne he vsed, and great pleasour he had¹
To see the citie oft time while he was lad.
For milke and butter he thither brought to sell,
But neuer thought he in citie for to dwell, 40
For well he noted the mad enormitie,
Enuy, fraude, malice and suche iniquitie
Which reigne in cities, therefore he led his life
Uplande² in village without debate and strife.
When these two herdes were thus together met, 45
Hauing no charges nor labour them to let,
Their shepe were all sure and closed in a cote,
Them selues³ lay in litter pleasauntly and hote.
For costly was fire in hardest of the yere,
When men haue moste nede then euery thing is dere, 50
For passing of time and recreation,
They both delited in communication,
Namely they pleaded of the diuersitie
Of rurall husbandes and men of the citie.
Faustus accused and blamed citizens, 55
To them imputing great faultes, crime and sins:⁴
Amintas blamed the rurall men agayne,
And eche of them both his quarell did maynteyne,
All wrath despised, all malice and ill will
Cleane layde apart, eche did rehearse his skill, 60
But first Amintas thus to speake began,
As he which counted him selfe the better man.

FINIS

Amintas first speaketh

THe winter snowes, all couered is the grounde,
The north wind blowes sharpe⁵ & with ferefull sound,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

The longe ise sicles at the ewes¹ hang, 65
 The streame is frozen,² the night is cold & long,
 Where botes rowed nowe cartes haue passage,
 From yoke the oxen be losed and bondage
 The plowman resteth auoyde of businesse,
 Saue when he tendeth his harnes³ for to dresse, 70
 Mably his wife sitteth before the fyre
 All blacke and smoky⁴ clothed in rude attire,
 Sething some grewell, and sturring⁵ the pulment⁶
 Of pease or frument,⁷ a noble meat for lent,
 The summer season men counted nowe laudable 75
 Whose feruour before they thought intollerable,
 The frosty winter and wether temperate
 Which men then praysed they nowe dispraise and hate,
 Colde they desired, but nowe it is present
 They braule and grutche their mindes not content. 80
 Thus mutable men them pleased can not holde,
 At great heat grutching, and grutching when it is cold.

Faustus

All pleasour present of men is counted small,
 Desire obtayned some counteth nought at all,
 What men hope after that semeth great and deare, 85

*Ægloga Sexta quæ dicitur Cornix de disceptatione
 Rusticorum & Ciuium Colloquutores Cornix & Fulica.*

Cornix. Ningit* hyems/mugit boreas/a culmine pendet
 Stiria depositis bobus requiescit arator/
 Dormit humus: clauso pastor tunicatus ouili
 Cessat iners. sedet ante focum fumosa neæra/
 Atque polenta coquit. prius intolerabilis æstas
 Nunc laudatur. hyems æstu laudata molesto
 Displicet. optatum damnat præsentia frigus

Fulica. Omne bonum presens minus est. sperata uidentur

* Ingit

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

A[s]* light by distaunce appeareth great and cleare,

Amintas

Eche time and season hath his delite and ioyes,
Loke in the stretes beholde the little boyes,
Howe in fruite season for ioy they sing and hop,
In lent is eche one full busy with his top, 90
And nowe in winter for all the greeuous colde
All rent and ragged a man may them beholde,
They haue great pleasour supposing well to dine,
When men be busied in killing of fat swine, D ij
They get the bladder and blowe it great and thin, 95
With many beanes or peason put within,¹
It ratleth, soundeth, and shineth clere and fayre,
While it is throwen and caste vp in the ayre,
Eche one contendeth and hath a great delite
With foote and with hande the bladder for to smite, 100
If it fall to grounde they lifte it vp agayne,
This wise to labour they count it for no payne,
Renning and leaping they driue away the colde.
The sturdie plowmen lustie, strong and bolde
Ouercommeth the winter with driuing the foote ball,² 105
Forgetting labour and many a greuous fall.

Faustus

Men labour sorer in fruiteles vanitie
Then in fayre workes of great vtilitie,
In suche trifles³ we labour for damage,

Magna uelut maius reddit distantia lumen
Cornix. Delitias habet omne suas/& gaudia tempus.
Aspice ut impexi tritaque in ueste ligati
Cæde suum pueri exultant. inflatur in utrem
Immissis uessica fabis/sonat & micat acta
Nunc pede/nunc cubito/stricto nunc obuia pugno.
Si cadit attollunt. cursu labor atque recursu
Brummam abigit. glaciale gelu pila rustica
uincit.

* Cawood: 'At.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Worke we despise which bringeth aduantage. 110

Amintas

Touching their labour it can not me displease,
While we be in rest and better here at ease
In the warme litter, small payne hath little hire,
Here may we walow while milke is on the fire,
If it be crudded of bread we nede no crome, 115
If thou bide Faustus thereof thou shalt haue some.

Faustus

Winter declareth harde nede and pouertie,
Then men it feleth which haue necessitie,
Truely Amintas I tell thee mine intent,
We fonde yong people be muche improuident. 120
We stray in summer without thought, care or hede,
Of suche thinges as we in winter shall haue nede,
As soone as we heare a bagpipe or a drone,¹
Then leaue we labour there is our money gone,
But when the north winde with stormes violent 125
Hath brought colde winter poore wretches to torment,
And voyde of leaues is euery bough and tree,
That one may clerely the empty nestes see,
Then is all our woll and lambes gone and solde,
We tremble naked and dye almost for colde, 130
Our shoulders all bare, our hose and showes rent,
By rechlesse youth thus all is gone and spent.
This commeth for want² of good prouision,
Youth dayneth counsell, scorning discretion,

Nos tamen hic melius tepido sub stramine foti
Transigimus tempus dum lac cohit igne recoctum.
Fulica. Pauperiem declarat hyems improuida certe
Turba sumus iuuenes. securi æstate uagamur
Immemores hyemis: nostrum æs tibicinis omne
est.

Vt redit e scythia boreas/nidosque uolucrum
Frondebis ostendit nudata cadentibus arbor/
Frigemus nudi scapulas/dorsum/ilia/plantas.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

When pouertie thus hath caught vs in hir snare 135
 Then doth the winter our mad folly declare.
 Nowe truely Amintas I tell to thee¹ my mate,
 That towne dwellers liue greatly more fortunate,
 And somewhat wiser be they also then we,
 They gather treasour and riches in plentie, 140
 They spoyle the lambes and foxes of their skin
 To lap their wombes and fat sides therin,
 In lust, in pleasour, and good in aboundaunce
 Passe they their liues, we haue not suffisaunce.

Amintas

The men of the earth be fooles eche one,² 145
 We poore shepheardes be not to blame alone,
 More folly vexeth the men of the citie,
 I graunt vs ouersene, they madder be then we,
 Though I long season did in the citie dwell
 I fauour it not, troth dare I boldly tell, 150
 Though citizens be of liuing reprouable,
 Yet fortune to them is muche more fauourable,
 Fortune to them is like a mother dere,
 As a stepmother she doth to vs appeare,
 Them she exalteth to honour and riches, 155
 Us she oppresseth in care and wretchednesse,
 What is vayne fortune but thing vituperable,
 An vnhappy madnesse, vnworthy and vnstable.

Faustus

No doubt Amintas let me be fortunate,

Stultitiam declarat hyems. sapientibus urbes
 Congeriem nummum accumulunt. & ad ilia
 uulpes
 Melotasque trahunt/maculosaque tergora lyncis.
 Cornix. Desipiunt omnes/nec nos in crimine soli.
 Immo ipsos uexat grauior dementia ciues
 Verum illis mater/nobis fortuna nouerca
 Nos premit. infelix sors est dementia. fac sim
 Fortunatus/ero locuplex: ero primus in urbe.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And then shall I soone become a great estate, 160
My coyne shall encrease, then shortly shall I be
Called to office to gouerne a citie,
All men shall heare me and geue to me credence,
The commontie bare head shall do me reuerence,
All other rulers, lowe men and commontie 165
Shall gladly desire to haue aduise of me.
If I be happy and fortune on me smile,
Thus shall I ascende and mounte within a while,
Aske thou of Cornix, declare to thee he can,
Howe coyne more than cunning exalteth euery man. 170

Amintas

O Faustus Faustus, thou erres from the way,
This is not fortune, full little do she may,
Though I my selfe rehearsed but lately,
That fortune hath might a man to magnifie,
I kept the opinion of witlesse commontie, 175
And grounded my selfe on none authoritie.
It is not fortune which graunteth excellence,
True honour is wonne by vertue and sapience,¹
If men get honour by worldly pollicy²
It is no honour but wretched misery, 180
God maketh mightie, God geueth true honour
To godly persons of godly behauour.
God first disposed and made diuersitie
Betwene rude plowmen and men of the citie,
And in what maner Cornix thine owne mate 185
As we went talking recounted to me late.

Audiar. assurgent omnes. me uertice nudo
Vulgus adorabit. me plæbs. me consulet omnis
Turba: magistratus etiam/populusque patresque.

Fulica* O cornix cornix non est fortuna/sed ipse/
Quo sapiunt homines animus: fortuna potentem
Non facit/immo deus: causam recitabit amyntas.

*Fnlica

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Faustus

What tolde thee Cornix, tell me I thee pray,
He had good reason suche thinges to conuay,
His wit was pregaunt, no reason did he want,
But truth to declare his money was but scant. 190
But what then? some man hath¹ plentie of cunning
Which hath of riches small plentie or nothing.

Amintas

In hearing my tale if thou haue thy delite,
Then take some labour, for nowe is good respite,
Faustus arise thou out of this litter² hote, 195
Go see and visite our wethers in the cote,
Arise, go and come, thou art both yong and able,
After great colde heate is more comfortable,
Go man for shame, he is a slouthfull daw³
Which leaueth profite for pleasour of hote strawe. 200

Faustus

Thinke not Amintas that Faustus hath disdayne,
To do thy pleasour I shall refuse no payne,
Loke here Amintas, Lorde benedicite,
The colde snowe reacheth mucche higher then my knee,
Scant may the houses suche burthen well susteyne, 205
Lesse hurte is tempest and sodayne storme of rayne,
On toppe of the chimney there is a heape of snowe
So hye extending our⁴ steeple is more lowe,
The snowe is so white and the sunne so bright,
That playnly Amintas amased is my sight. 210

Cornix. Est fortuna deus. sed quid recitarit amyntas
Dic precor/in causis erat ingeniosus & acer.
Ante tamen paulum pecus & præsepia uise.
Vade/redi/calor est post frigora dulcior. ito.

Fulica. Attingit nix alta genu. uix tecta resistunt
Tanto oneri. sublimis apex in uertice* furni
Pyramidem fecit metaque assurgit acuta.

* ueetice

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Amintas

Geue to the beastes good rowen¹ in plentie,
And stoppe all the holes where thou canst faultes² see,
Stop them with stubble, eft daube them with some clay
And when thou hast done then come agayne thy way,
Nought is more noysome to flocke, cotage nor folde, 215
Then soden tempest and vnprouided colde.
What nowe already frende Faustus here agayne,
By short conclusion bad worke apeareth playne,
Thy comming agayne me thinke is all to soone
Ought to have ended or³ profite to haue done. 220

Faustus

This comberous wether made me more diligent,
I ran all the way both as I came and went,
And there I sped me and toke the greater payne,
Because I lightly would be with thee agayne,
After great colde it is full swete God wot 225
To tumble in the strawe or in the litter hot.
Nowe be we Faustus in hay vp to the chin,⁴
Fulfill thy promise,⁵ I pray thee nowe begin,
Tell the beginning of the diuersitie
Betwene rurall men and men of the citie, 230
I knowe the reason and talking of Cornix,
But since I him sawe be passed yeres sixe,
His iocunde iestes made me ofte time full glad,
Our first acquayntaunce was when I was a lad:

Cornix. Da pecori cordum. stipulisque foramina claude/
Si paries hiat: & rediens lætamine muni
Limina. nulla gregi grauior quam frigora pestis.
Iamne ades? oh quænam hæc solito properantia
maior?

Fulica. Sollicitum me reddit hyems in frigore & igni.
Maxima strenuitas: fœno recubare calenti/
Abscondique cauo accubitu post frigora/dulce
est.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Nowe speake my Amintas,¹ and I shall holde me still 235
Till thou haue ended and spoken all thy will.

Amintas

This great difference and first diuersitie
Betwene rurall men and them of the citie,
Began in this wise as Cornix to me tolde,
Whiche well coulde common of many matters olde. 240
First when the worlde was founded² and create,
And Adam and³ Eue were set in their estate,
Our Lorde conioyned them both as man and wife,
To liue in concorde the season of their life,
And them commaunded mankinde to multiply, 245
By generation to get them progeny,
They both obeyed this swete commaundement
With faythfull heartes and labour diligent,
But would to Iesu, they had bene wise and ware
From that fatall fruit which kindled all their care. 250
But to my purpose: first Eue had children two,
A sonne and a daughter, our Lorde disposed so,
And so yere by yere two twins⁴ she brought,
When man assisteth God worketh not for nought,⁵
By suche maner these two did them apply, 255

Cornix. Incipe: & enarra discrimina ruris & urbis.
Fulica. Hoc igitur tantum ruris discrimen & urbis
Taliter exortum noster recitabat Amyntas.
Principio rerum primaque ab origine mundi
Cum muliere marem sociali fœdere iungens
Cœli opifex (sic nanque deum appellabat
amyntas)
Nomen adhuc teneo) natos producere iussit.
Atque modum docuit fieri quo pignora possent.
Accinxere operi. mandata fideliter implent.
Sicque utinam de pomi esu seruata fuissent.
Fœmina fit mater. puerum parit atque puellam.
Atque puerperio simili fœcunda quotannis
Auxit in immensum generis primordia nostri.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

The worlde to fulfill, encrease and multiply.
At the laste our Lord at ende of fiftene yere
To Eue our mother did on a time appeare,
And in what maner nowe heare me Faustus:¹
Adam on the fiede foorth with his wethers was, 260
His flocke then he fed without all dread and feare,
Then were no wowers him nor his wife to deare,
He was not troubled that time with ielousie,
Then was no body to do that villany,
No horned kiddes were liuing at that time, 265
Long after this began this cursed crime,
Then was no cucko betwene the east and west
To lay wrong egges within a straunge nest,
Then none suspected the liuing of his wife,
Wedlocke was quiet and pleasaunt without strife. 270
But after when people began to multiply
Then fyrst was kindled the flame of ielousy,
For that man committeth² sore dredeth he againe,
Fraude feareth falshode, suspecting oft in vayne,
A thefe suspecteth all men of felony, 275
Breakers of wedlocke be full of ielousy,
And therefore all suche as with the sworde do strike
Feare to be serued with the scaberd like.
Thus while that Adam was pitching of his³ folde
Eue was at home and sat on the thresholde, 280
With all hir babes and children hir about,
Eyther on hir lappe within or else without,
Nowe had she pleasour them colling⁴ and bassing,⁵
And eft she was busy them lousing and keming,

Post tria lustra deus rediit. dum pignora pectit
Fœmina prospiciens uenientem a limine uidit.
Adam aberat securus oues pascebat. adulter
Nullus adhuc suspectus erat. sed multiplicatis
Connubiis fraudata fides. sine cornibus hirci
Facti: & Zelotypo coniunx suspecta marito.
Nam quæ quisque facit/fieri sibi furta ueretur.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And busy with butter for to annoynt their necke, Sometime she mused them pleasauntly to decke. In the meane time while she was occupied, Our Lorde drawing nere she sodenly espied, Anone she blushed, reuoluing in hir minde, That if our Lorde there should all those babes finde' So soone engendred, suppose ² he nedes must That it was token of to great carnall lust, And all ashamed as fast as euer she might She hasted and hid some of them out of sight, Some vnder hay, some vnder strawe and chaffe, Some in the chimney, some in a tubbe of draffe, But suche as were fayre and of their stature right As wise and subtill reserued she in sight. Anone came our Lorde vnto the woman nere, And hir saluted with swete and smiling chere, And saide: O woman ³ let me thy children see, I come to promote eche after his degree. First was the woman amased nere for drede, At laste ⁴ she commaunded the eldest to procede, And gaue them comfort to haue audacitie, Though they were bolder and doubted lesse then she, God on them smiled, and them comforted so As we with whelpes and birdes vse to do, And then at the laste to the moste olde of all He saide: haue thou scepter of rowme ⁵ imperiall,	285 290 295 300 305 310
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Erubuit mater/nimiæque libidinis ingens
 Indicium rata tot natos/abscondere quosdam
 Accelerat. fœno sepelit/paleisque recondit.
 Iamque lares deus ingressus saluere penates
 Iussit. & huc dixit mulier tua pignora profer:
 Fœmina* maiores natu procædere mandat.
 His deus arrisit: uelut arridere solemus
 Exiguis auium pullis/paruisue catellis.
 Et primo letatus ait cape regia sceptrâ/

* Fœmiua

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thou art the eldest thou shalt haue most honour,
Iustice requireth that thou be Emperour.
Then to the seconde he saide: it is seming
That thou be haunced to the honour of a king.
And vnto the thirde he gaue suche dignitie, 315
To gide an army a¹ noble duke to be,
And saide: haue thou here harde yron and armour,
Be thou in battayle a head and gouernour,
And so forth to other as they were in degree,
Eche he promoted² to worthy dignitie. 320
Some made he Earles, some lordes, some barons,
Some squires, some knightes,³ some hardy champions,
And then brought he forth the cepter and the crowne,
The sworde, the pollax,⁴ the helme and haberiowne,⁵
The streamer, standard, the ghetton⁶ and the mace, 325
The speare and the shielde, nowe Eue had great solace,
He gaue them armour, and taught them pollicy
All thing to gouerne concerning chiuallry.
Then made he iudges, maiors and gouernours,
Marchauntes, shiriffes⁷ and other protectours, 330
Aldermen, burgesses and other in degree,
After the custome of court and of citie.
Thus all the children then being in presence,
He set in honour and rowme of excellence,
Oft time reuoluing and turning in his minde 335
The caduke⁸ honours belonging to mankinde.
In the meane season Eue⁹ very ioyfull was
That all these matters were brought so well to passe,
Then flewe¹⁰ she in haste for to haue pleasour more,

Rex eris. at ferrum & belli dedit arma secundo:
Et dux inquit eris. fasces populique secures
Protulit/& uites. & pila insignia Romæ.
Iamque magistratus celebres partitus in omnem
Progeniem/humanos tacitus uoluebat honores.
Interea mater rebus gauisa secundis
Euolat ad caulas/& quos absconderat/ultra

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And them presented whom she had hid before, 340
 And vnrequired presenting them saide she,
 O Lorde these also my very children be,
 These be the fruite also of my wome,
 Hid for shamefastnesse within my house at home,
 O Lorde most mightie, hye father, creatour,¹ 345
 Withsaue to graunt them some office of honour,
 Their heere was rugged poudred all with chaffe,
 Some full of strawes, some other full of draffe,
 Some with cobwebbes and dust were so arayde
 That one beholding on them might be afrayde, D iij 350
 Blacke was their colour and bad was their figure,
 Uncomely to sight, mishapen of stature,
 Our Lorde not smiled on them to shewe pleasaunce,
 But saide to them thus with troubled countenaunce:
 Ye smell all smoky, of stubble and of chaffe, 355
 Ye smell of the ground, of wedes and of draffe,
 And after your sent and tedious sauour
 Shall be your rowmes and all your behauour,
 None can a pitcher turne to a siluer pece,²
 Nor make goodly silke of a goates flece, 360
 And harde is also to make withouten fayle
 A bright two hande sworde of a coves tayle.
 No more will I make, howbeit that I can,
 Of a vile villayne a noble gentleman,
 Ye shall be plowmen and tillers of the ground, 365
 To payne and labour shall ye alway be bounde,
 Some shall kepe oxen, and some shall hogges kepe,
 Some shall be threshers, some other shall kepe shepe,

Protulit/hæc/dicens nostri quoque pignora uen-
 tris:

Hos aliquo Pater omnipotens dignabere dono.
 Settosum albebat paleis caput. hæserat armis
 Stramen/& antiquis quæ pendet aranea tectis.
 Non arrisit eis/sed tristi turbidus ore
 Vos fœnum/terram/& stipulas deus inquit oletis.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To digge and to delue, to hedge and to dike,
Take this for your lot and other labour like, 370
To drudge and to driuell¹ in workes vile and rude,
This wise shall ye liue in endlesse seruitude,
Reaping² and mowing of fodder, grasse and corne,
Yet shall towne dwellers oft laugh you vnto scorne.³
Yet some shall we graunt to dwell in the citie, 375
For to make puddinges and⁴ butchers for to be,
Coblers or tinkers or els costarde iaggers,⁵
Hostelers or daubers, or droupy water lagers,⁶
And suche other sorte whose dayly businesse,
Passeth in workes and labour of vilenesse, 380
To stoupe and to sweate, and subiect to become;
And neuer to be ridde from bondage and thraldome.
Then brought our Lorde to them the carte and harowe,
The gad & the whip, the mattoke & the whelebarowe,
The spade, the shouell, the forke and the plough, 385
And all suche tooles, then bad he them be tough,
And neuer to grutche at labour nor at payne,
For if they so did it should be thing in vayne.
Thus saide the father and Lorde omnipotent,
And then he ascended vp to the firmament, 390
Thus began honour and thus began bondage,
And diuersitie of citie and village,
And seruile labour first in the worlde⁷ began,
Demaunde of Cornix, declare the truth he can,

Vester erit stimulus/uester ligo/pastina uestra.
Vester erit uomer/iuga uestra/agrestia uestra
Omnia: aratores eritis: pecorumque magistri.
Fœnisecæ/solifossores/nautæ atque bubulci.
Sed tamen ex uobis quosdam donabimus urbe/
Qui sint fartores/lanii/lixæ/artocopique
Et genus hoc alii/soliti sordescere semper.
Sudate/& toto seruite prioribus æuo.
Taliter omnipotens fatus repetiuit olympum.
Sic factum est seruile genus. sic ruris & urbis

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

This tolde me Cornix which wonned¹ in the fen,
I trust his saying before a thousande men, 395

Faustus

Is this the matter praysed of thee so sore?
A strawe for fables I set by them no store,
It were a maruell if Cornix matter tolde
To laude of shepheardes, or plowmen to vpholde, 400
He dwelled² in the towne and helde with the citie,
Till nede him moued as it hath driuen thee.
When none of you both dare to the towne resorte
Among vs shepheardes yet finde ye here comfort,
So both thou and he be greatly for to blame, 405
To eate ou[r]^{*3} vitayle and then to hurt our name.
The yong⁴ men of townes to mocke vs haue a gise,
Naught else can they do saue lies to deuise,
This vayne inuention and foolishe fayned fable
Agaynst⁵ rurall men they haue delite to bable, 410
And nought they ashame as blinde wretches vnwise,
Of God almightie suche leasinges to deuise,
This scoruy scoffing⁶ declareth openly
Agaynst rurall men rebuke and iniury,
But thou art so rude thy paunch is so fatte, 415
Agaynst thine owne selfe thou busy art to chatte,
All if⁷ this same iest is thy rebuke and blame,
Thy dulled reason can not perceyue the same.
But I shall⁸ proue thee that rurall people be

Inductum discrimen ait mantous Amyntas.
Cornix. Mirabar/si quid recti dixisset Amyntas.
Cuius erat. semper nobis urbana iuuentus
Cui nihil est preter stulta hæc commenta/negoci/
Ludit: in agrestes semper iaculantur: & urbis
Talia garrulitas/& uaniloquentia fingit.
At neque de superis pudet has componere nugas.
Iste iocus manifesta gerit conuicia secum.
Sed tu tam rudis es/tam pleno inflatus omaso/
Vt neque perpendas isto te scommate carpi.

* Cawood: 'out.'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

More wise and noble then they of the citie, 420
And that the citie is full of fraude and strife,
When we in village haue good and quiet life.

Amyntas

I pray thee Faustus herefore be thou not wroth,
To haue displeasour of thee I were right loth,
I thought no mauger, I tolde it for a bourde, 425
If I had knowen I would^r haue said no worde:
But say thy pleasour, nowe tell foorth thy sentence,
And I shall heare thee with sober pacience.

Faustus

I shall not deny our payne and seruitude,
I knowe that plowmen for the most part be rude, 430
Nowe shall I tell thee high matters true and olde,
Which curteous Candidus vnto me once tolde,
Nought shall I forge nor of no leasing bable,
This is true history and no surmised fable.
At the beginning of thinges first of all,² 435
God made shepheardes and other men rurall,
But the first plowman and tiller of the grounde
Was rude and sturdie, disdayning to be bounde,
Rough and stubborne, and Cayn men did him call,
He had of mercy³ and pitie none at all, 440
But like as the grounde is dull, stony and tough,
Stubborne and heauy, rebelling to the plough.
So the first plowman was strong and obstinate,
Frowarde, selfewilled,⁴ and mouer of debate;
But the first shepheard was meke and nothing fell, 445
Humble as⁵ a lambe, and called was Abell.
A shepe geueth milke and little hath of gall,
So this good Abell had none ill will at all.
No shepheard founde him iniurious nor wrong
Induring his life while he was them among, 450
And ofte of his flocke made he good sacrifice,
Of calfe or lambes, suche as were moste of price,
And of fat wethers the best not spared he,
To honour our Lorde and please his deitee.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Thus had he fauour with God omnipotent, 455
So pleasing our Lorde, that to this time present
From first beginning of earth and man mortall,
God hath had fauour to people pastorall,
And poore shepherdes, their cotes folde¹ and shepe,
Angels haue come for to defende and kepe, 460
Some shepherdes were in lande of Asserye,
Which after haue bene promoted very hye,
So that from cotes and houses pastorall
They haue assended to dignitie royall,
Charges and labour so doth my reason blinde, 465
That call their names can I not vnto minde,
Yet let me studie auoyding perturbaunce,
So may I call them vnto² remembraunce.
Lo nowe I haue them, Abraham, Iacob,
Loth, Isaac, yong Ioseph and Iob, 470
These nowe rehearsed and all the patriarkes
Haue not disdayned poore shepe nor heardees workes,
Them hath our Lorde called from humble thinges,
And made them princes, dukes or els³ kinges,
So haue they chaunged their clothing pastorall, 475
With golden garment, purpure and gay pall,
And then haue after by magnanimitie
Brought noble realmes⁴ in their captiuitie,
And haue in battayle bene mightie conquerours,
Won fame immortall and excellent honours. 480
Paris was pastour the sonne of Priamus,
Pan, Silene, Orpheus, and ioly Tyterus,
Saul was shepherd, so was he in like wise
Which would haue offred his sonne in sacrifice,
Moyses was shepherd and was his flocke keeping, 485
When he came bare foote vnto the bushe flaming,
Commaunded by God to leaue his flocke and go
On Gods message to sturdy Pharaon.
Also Apollo was herde sometime in Grece,
Nothing disdayning to handle Ewe and flece: 490
As write⁵ Poetes, he left diuine honour,

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Glad among wethers to be a gouvernour.
The blessed angels brought to such men as we
Message of concorde, of peace and vnitie,
And song that Gloria, flying in the skye, 495
Which our syr Sampson doth sing so meryly.
First had shepherdes sure tiding by message
That God was made man to bye humane¹ linage,
And herdes instruct by voyce angelicall
Sawe God incarnate and borne first of all. 500
And this was pleasure of Gods Maiestie
That simple herdes him first of all should see,
And in their maner make vnto him offringes
Before estates, as riche and mightie kinges.
The ioly Harper, which after was a kinge, 505
And slewe the giant so stoutly with his sling
Was first a shepherde or he had dignitie,
Right so were many, as stoute and bolde as he:
And our Lorde Iesu, our God and Sauour
Named himselfe a shepherde or pastour. 510
Right so he named men meeke and pacient
His flocke and his shepe for maners innocent:
Thinke not these wordes glosed nor² in vayne,
They are the Gospell, so saith syr Peter playne.
I sawe them my selfe well paynted on the wall, 515
Late gasing vpon our Church Cathedrall:
I sawe great wethers in picture and small lambes,
Daunsing, some sleeping, some sucking of their dams,
And some on the grounde me semed lying still,
Then sawe I horsemen at pendant of an hill, 520
And the three kinges with all their company,
Their crownes glistering³ bright and oriently,
With their presentes and giftes mysticall,
All this behelde I in picture on the wall.
But the poore pastours as people innocent 525
First sawe the Crib of our Lorde omnipotent.
Thus it appereth God loueth poore pastours,
Sith he them graunted to haue so⁴ great honours.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Our Lorde hath fauour both to¹ shepe and folde,
As it appereth by these historyes² olde. 530
Our Lorde is ready to succour the village,
Despising townes for malice and outrage.
For God is content with simple pouertie,
Pride he despiseth and wrongfull dignitie.

Amintas

In good fayth Faustus, thy tale is veritable,³ 535
Grounded on learning, and greatly commendable:
Lately my selfe to see that picture was,
I sawe the maunger, I sawe the oxe and asse.
I well remember⁴ the people in my minde,
Me thinke yet I see the blacke faces of Inde: 540
Me thinke yet I see the herdes and the kinges,
And in what maner were ordred their offeringes.
As long as I liue the better shall I loue
The name of herdes, and citezins reproue.
Wherefore mate Faustus, I pray God geue thee care, 545
If thou the faultes of any citie spare.
Speake on and spare not, and touche their errour,
Yet may we⁵ common more then a large houre.

Faustus

Then turne we to talke a while of citizens,
To touche their foly and parcell of their sinnes, 550
Thinke not Amintas that they of the citie
Liue better life or wiselyer then we.
All if their cloathing⁶ be doubled for the colde,
And though they glister so gayly in bright golde,
Shining in silkes, in purpure or veluet, 555
In furred robes, or clokes of scarlet,
And we poore herdes in russet cloke and hood:

Nos quoque paulisper mentem extendamus ad
urbis

Stultiziam*/ne forte putes sapientius illos
Viuere/qui splendent auro/qui murice fulgent.

* Stultiam

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

It is not clothing can make a man be good.
Better is in ragges pure liuing innocent
Then a soule defiled in sumptuous garment. 560
Trust me Amintas, my selfe with these same eyne
Haue in the citie such often times seene
Let in their silkes, and brag in the market,
As they were lordes I oft haue seene them iet,
Which are starke beggers, and liue in neede at home, 565
And oft go to bed for neede with empty wombe.
Nought is more foolish then such wretches be,
Thus with proude port to cloke their pouertie.
What is neede cloked or fayned aboundaunce,
Pouertie, slouth, and wretched gouernaunce? 570
What is fayre semblaunce with thought and heauynes?
Forsooth nought els but cloked foolishnes.
And some haue I seene (which is a thing damnable)
That while they would haue a liuing delectable,
Rest at their pleasure, and fare deliciously, 575
Haue suffred their wiues defiled wetingly,
Haue solde their daughters flowre of virginie,
O dede vnworthy, O blinde iniquitie:
Fame, honour, the soule, and chastitie be solde
For wretched liuing, O cursed thirst of golde. 580
O damnable deede, so many for to spill,
One wretched carkasse and belly for to fill?

His oculis uidi tunicis plerosque superbis
Vestiri/atque foro regali incedere gressu
Quos secreta fames premit/atque domestica ege-
stas.

Stultius his certe nihil est/opulencia ficta
Paupertas & segnitie/& inertia uitæ
Vera/quid est aliud quam desipientia uera?
Vidi etiam patres (o rem indignam atque nefan-
dam)

Dum segnes dormire uolunt/& uiuere laute/
Prostituisse suas uulgo cum coniuge natas.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

What thing is viler? what more abhominable?
What thing more foolish, more false and detestable?

Amintas

What if they can not to other craft them geue? 585
Nor finde other way or meanes for to liue?
Nede hath no lawe, of two euils¹ perdie
To chose the least ill is none iniquitie,

Faustus

Sith they haue as many soules as haue we,
As much of reason, and handes like plentie, 590
Why may they not to honest work them geue;
And finde other way and maner for to liue.
No lawe permitteth nor willeth man perdie
To commit murther for harde necessitie,
No more should any his soule defile or kill 595
For lust transitory, or pleasure to fulfill.
Yet be in cities mo suing foolishnes,
Wening by craft for to haue great riches:
By which craftes no man hath riches founde,
Sith time that our Lord first fourmed man & ground: 600
As Alkemistes wening by pollicy
Nature to alter, and coyne to multiply.
Some wash rude metall with licours manifolde
Of herbes, wening to turne it² into golde.
All pale and smoky be such continuall, 605
And after labour they lose their life and all:

Quid peius? quid perfidius? quid stultius un-
quam?

Fulica. Quid si uitam alio nequeunt traducere pacto?
Cornix. Cum totidem quot nos habeant animasque/
manusque/

Dic cur uitam alio nequeant traducere pacto.
Est etiam cuius uecors industria uanas
Quærat opes/ubi nullus opes inuenit ab æuo.
Æs lauat herbarum succis/& uertere in aurum
Æstimat: ac nigra semper fulligine pallet.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Another sorte is to this not much vnlike,
Which spende their times in wretched art magike,
Thereby supposing some treasure to haue founde,
Which many yeres is hid within the grounde. 610
What is more foolish, more full of vanitie,
Or more repugning to fayth and probitie,
Because they would flye good busynes and payne,
They vse such trifles and wretched thinges vayne.
They proue all thinges because they would' do nought, 615
Still seeking newes, still troubled in their thought:
Because they woulde flee the labour of the lande,
All ydle trifles such taketh on their hande: D jv
Still be they busy, and neuer come to ende,
To thing profitable do fewe of them intende. 620
Some liue by rapine, gile, fraude and pollicy,
Penury,² oppression, and some on³ vsury.
Some gladly borowe, and neuer pay agayne,
Some keepe from seruauntes the stipend of their payne:
Some rest men giltlesse, and cast them in prison, 625
Some bye stronge thieues out of the dungeon.
Some faune, some flatter, man trust not when they smile,
Then frame they⁴ fraudes men slyly to begile.
Some in one houre more promise to thee will,
Then all his dayes he thinketh to fulfill: 630
By thousande meanes of fraude and craftynes
Lye they in wayte for honour and riches.

Est qui dum tellure latens desyderat aurum
Dat magicis operam studiis: & tempora perdit.
Quid leuius? quid futilius? quid inanius *unquam*?
Omnia ne ueniant ad opus telluris & agri/
Omnia pertentant/ut agant nihil/omnia uersant.
Semper agunt. *nunquam* peragunt. ex fœnore
uictum
Infamem extorquent / ui / fraude / dolisque / la-
borant.
Mille uiis opibus mille insidiantur honori.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

They feede the riche, and often let the poore
Dye for pure colde and hunger at their doore.
We feed fat oxen, they marmosets keepe, 635
We feede fat kiddes, lambes and good sheepe:
And they feede hawkes, apes, horse and houndes,¹
And small is their ioy saue here within our boundes.
We bring them butter, egges, cheese and wooll,
Tankerdes of milke and creame fleeting full: 640
All maner fleshe, and all their whole liuing,
Without our labour truely they haue nothing.
We are the feeders of wethers and fat hogges,
And they of the Citie feede birdes and great dogges.
Nowe iudge Amintas, which of these seemeth thee 645
Of moste aduauntage and moste nobilitie.

Amintas

If by our² labour proceedeth more riches,
And moste aduauntage, as seemeth truth doubtles,
Then this I meruayle that they of the Citie
Haue so great plentie, and we necessitie: 650
The cause can not I call to my remembraunce,
Wherof proceedeth their store and aboundaunce.

Faustus

The cause I tolde thee, what wouldest thou haue more,
By fraude and falshood haue they so mikle store.
Seest thou not playnly howe they of the Citie 655
Dayly deceyue³ our poore simplicitie.

Nos capras & oues/armentaque pascimus/illi
Accipitres/catulos/& equos/& cercopythecos.
Rusticus est ouium pastor/uolucrumque canum-
que
Ciuis. utrum melius te iudice/nobiliusque
O fulica. utilitas unde atque opulencia maior?
Fulica. Si uenit ex nostris operis opulencia maior/
Ciuibus unde igitur tantarum copia rerum?
Cornix. Ex ui/fraude/dolis/ui/fraude/dolisque laborant.
Nonne uides insane ut nos crudeliter urgent?

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

With what¹ crueltie against vs they rage,
By false oppression or fayre fayned language.
They thinke it pleasure that sorowe on them hap,
By glosed wordes to take vs in a trap:² 660
The moste of them all count it an almes deede
Us hearde to fraude, this is a gentle meede:
For them we labour in heate, colde, winde, and rayne,³
And fraude and disceyte they pay vs for our payne.
With mindes and tonge they study and they muse 665
Both day and night vs hearde to abuse:
Their wit and body all whole do they apply,⁴
For vs poore wretches to study pollicie:
And after their fraude, gile and deception,
Then do they laugh vs vnto derision. 670

Amintas

Howe came thou to knowledge of this enormitie,
And of these maners of them of the Citie:
My selfe there wonned, and there was conuersant,
Of some of these thinges yet am I ignorant.

Faustus

Thou could not perceyue well their enormitie, 675
Perchaunce thy maners did with their life agree:
There seldome is seene great contradiction,
Where men accordeth in disposition.
No fault with Moriens is blacke difformitie,
Because all the sort like of that⁵ fauour be. 680
So could thou not see their vices nor them blame,
Because thine owne life was filed with the same.
But howe I knewe them nowe shall I tell to thee,
While I brought butter to sell to the Citie,

Quo capiunt astu: nos irretire loquendo
Sacrum offerre putant/& opus sublime/piumque
Huc aures/oculosque adigunt: huc ora manus-
que.

Fulica. Vnde urbanarum tibi tanta peritia rerum?
Cornix. Hæc didici. quondam ductis in mœnia capris

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And other vitayle, I vsed milke to crye, 685
Then had I knowledge with an appotecary:
Of him I learned much falshood and practise
Not to the purpose the same to exercise:
He could make plasters and newe commixtions,
In valour scant worth a couple of onions, 690
Yet solde he the same as it were golde so dere,
Namely if happened any infectife yere.
I was acquainted with many an hucster,
With a costardmonger¹ and with an hostler.
This thiefe was crafty poore people to begile, 695
None like I suppose within a dosen mile:
Among all his other fraudes and his crimes
He solde one bottell of hey a dosen times.
And in the Otes could he well drop a candle,
Well knewe he howe his gestes for to handle. 700
And in the same Inne there dwelled a prety prim,
She could well flatter and glose² with him and him.
And necke a measure, her smirking gat³ her sale,
She made ten shillinges of one barell of ale.
Whom she begiled in pottes, she was fayne 705
To win them with fresh⁴ and paynted looke agayne.
And as I remember, her name was wanton Besse,
Who least with her dealt he thriued not the lesse.
What needeth⁵ more processe, no craft of the Citie
Is, but is mingled with fraude and subiltie: 710
Saue onely the craft of an Apoticy,
That is all fraude and gilefull pollicy,
But all these would sweare that they were innocent,
Or they to the Citie did first of all frequent.

Cum lac uociferans ibam uenale per urbem.
Mansi apud artocopum. sapiens/& ad omnia
promptus
Furta erat/& crudum ferro subradere panem.
Ipse ut erat mores urbis doctissimus/ista
Traddidit affirmans nihil esse nocentius urbe.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

There learned they theft and fraude to exercise, 715
And man of nature is moued soone to vice.
Some be also which spend their patrimony
Which was to them lefte¹ by their olde auncestry
On queanes, baudes, in riot and dronkennes,
Their name defiling, despising all goodnes. 720
With cost and paynes such busily labour,
Seeking for shame and death before their houre.
Say where is custome of fornication,
Incest, aduoutry and defloration,
Forcing of women, murther and rapine, 725
Discorde and brauling and liuing like to swine:
Malice, enuy, and all iniquitie
Do these not reygne in middes of the Citie?
All newe abusion prouoking men to sins
Had first beginning among the Citezins. 730
Where dwell great princes and mightie gouernours,
Their life despising for to haue vayne honours,
Capitaynes, souldiers, and all like company,
Which put for money their life in ieopardie.
These dwell not vplande,² but haunt³ the Citie, 735
Poore herdes fight not but for necessitie,
For libertie, life, and Iustice to vpholde,
Towne dwellers fight for vayne honour and golde.
We fight our frendes and housholde to defende,
They fight for malice to riches to ascende. 740

Se quoque furari didicisse aiebat ab urbe.
Sunt etiam qui parta ab auis patrimonia fundunt
In meretricum usus. Quid fœdus? improbius-
que?
Dic ubi mechandi ars/homicidia/seditiones?
Nonne inter ciues/atque intra mœnia regnant?
Quid reges qui regna hominum per uulnera
gerunt
In mortemque suos adigunt? Quid pectora miles
Obiiciens telis/per mille pericula uadens?

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Our cause and quarell is to maynteyne the right,
But all on selfe will without reason they fight.
They seeke by woundes for honour and riches,
And driue the weakest to hardest busynes.
O blinde souldier, why settest thou thy hart 745
For a vayne stipende against a mortall dart.
By thousand perils thou takest thy passage,
For small lucre renning to great damage.¹
Their sweete life they geue for a poore stipende,
And oft lese they both, and heauen at the ende. 750
While some contendeth and fighteth for his wage,
His life he spendeth, then farewell aduauntage.
What is more foolish or liker to madnes,
Then to spende the life for glory and riches?
What thing is glory, laude, praying or fame, 755
What honour, reporte, or what is noble name?
Forsooth nought but voyce of witlesse commontie,
And vayne opinion subiect to vanitie.
Processe of yeres, reuoluing of reason
Bringeth all these soone in obliuion. 760
When life is faded all these be out of sight,
Like as with the Sun departeth the day light,
They all be fooles which meddle² with the sea,
And otherwise might liue in their owne country.
He is but a foole which runneth to tempest, 765
And might liue on lande in suertie and in rest.
He is but a foole which hath of good plentie,

Pro stipe dat uitam/nulla est insania maior.
Gloria præfertur uitæ. Quid gloria? Quid laus?
Quid fama est? quid honor? uoces & opinio
uulgi.

Omnia longa dies abolet/cum uiuere cessas/
Omnia sic abeunt/ut lux cum sole recedit.
Qui mare sollicitant remis/cum uiuere possint
In patria/stulti. uento qui credit & undis/
Stultus. diuitiæ cui sunt/& negligit uti/

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

And it disdayneth to vse and occupy.
 And he which liueth in care and wretchednes
 His heyre to promote to landes and riches 770
 Is moste foole of all, to spare in misery,
 With goodes¹ and landes his heyre to magnifye.
 And he which leaueth that thing for to be done
 Unto his daughter, executour or sonne,
 Which he him self might in his life fulfill, 775
 He is but a foole, and hath but litle skill.
 But all these sortes within the citie be,
 They want of wisdomes and sue enormitie.
 And also the youth in dayes festiuall
 Do nought but folowe their lustes bestiall. 780
 The weeke they vse them in worldly busynes,
 The Sunday serueth to folowe viciousnes.
 What time the shoppes be closed all and shit,
 Then is the market with Thais, beale and kit,
 On hiest dayes such ware is namely solde, 785
 For nought it waxeth, if it be once olde.
 Upon the Sonday when man should God honour,
 Left is good labour, ensued is errour.
 Oft time² the olde freer that wonned in Grenewitch
 Against such folyes was boldly wont to preache: 790
 He saide: where baudes and their abusyon
 Were wont to abide in one vile place alone,
 Nowe are they sprinkled and sparkled abroad,
 Like wise as shippes be docked in a rode,
 That harde is to knowe good women from the ill, 795
 By ill example good are in doubt to spill.
 Baudes be suffered so where them³ lust to bide,
 That the strete fadeth vpon the water side.⁴
 Cate, Gill, Mably, Phillis and feate Ieny,
 Because of the citie nowe can not get one peny. 800

Stultus. qui ut natis cumulet patrimonia/partis
 Abstinet/& genium fraudat/stultissimus/& qui
 Quæ facere ipse potest/natis faciunda relinquit.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Uile Thais was wont in angles¹ for to be,
Nowe hath she power in all the whole citie.

Amintas

Thou passest measure (Faustus) by God a[v]owe,*²
Thou sayest of malice right well perceyue I now:
Mitigate thy minde and tonge, for it is shame 805
Men of the citie thus largely to blame.
What man is faultlesse, remember the village,
Howe men vplondish on holy dayes rage.
Nought can them tame, they be a beastly sort,
In sweate and labour hauing moste chiefe comfort. 810
On the holy day assoone as morne is past,
When all men resteth while all the day doth last,
They drinke, they banket, they reuell and they iest,
They leape, they daunce, despising ease and rest.
If they once heare a bagpipe or a drone, 815
Anone to the elme or Oke they be gone.
There vse they to daunce, to gambolde and to rage,
Such is the custome and vse of the village.
When the ground resteth from rake, plough and wheles
Then moste they it trouble with burthen of their heles. 820
To Bacchus they banket, no feast is festiuall,
They chide and they chat, they vary and they brall,
They rayle and they route, they reuell and they crye,
Laughing and leaping, and making cuppes drye.

Faustus

What, stint thou thy chat, these wordes I defye, 825
It is to a vilayne rebuke and vilany.
Such rurall solace so plainly for to blame,
Thy wordes sound to thy rebuke and shame.

Amintas

Not so frend Faustus, I spake it but in game,
Agayne to the Citie returne in Gods name. 830

Faustus

Yet of the citie mo fooles tell can I,

*Cawood: 'anowe'

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Which wene to number the sterres in¹ the sky,
 By them supposing eche desteny to tell,
 But all be fooles that with this matter mell.
 Yet be they madder which fixe their intent 835
 To searche the nature of God omnipotent:
 And dare be so bolde to set their mortall sight
 On incomprehensible and pure immortall light.
 Our fayth is better, for they of the citie
 Beleue by reason with great difficultie: 840
 Or they will beleue, they braule with argument,
 Playne speeche suffiseth vs people innocent.
 Against Sir Sampson their quarell they defende,
 We aske no question, and vse not to contende.
 We light the aultars, and many candels offer, 845
 When they of the towne scantly make a proffer:
 Their fayth is feble, our fayth is sure and stable,
 They dare be bolde with doctours for to bable:
 A worldly merchaunt nought knowing of doctrine,
 Because of his coyne counteth his reason fine. 850
 Trust me Amintas, no force who heareth me,
 The coyne and cunning doth not alway agree:
 For some be that haue plentie² of that one,
 Which of that other haue litle part or none.
 What should the fooles that dwell in the citie, 855
 Or we seeke to knowe of Gods priuitie.
 If it were nedefull the Godhead for to knowe
 To simple wretches here on the grounde alowe:

Qui numerant stellas/& se comprehendere fata
 Posse putant/stulti. Verum dementior istis
 Naturam quicunque dei scrutatur: & audet/
 Figere in immensam lumen tam debile lucem.
 Nostra fides melior. cuius ratione coactus
 Difficile assentit. nudis nos omnia uerbis
 Credimus. & plures faculas accendimus aris.
 Cuius est infida fides. inquirere nunquam
 Mente sinunt arcana dei si numina scire

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

It is in the power of God omnipotent
 His very presence to vs to represent. 860
 But sith his knowledge is incomprehensible,¹
 Why seek fooles for thinges impossible?
 And sith God will be vnknownen vnto us,
 Why should thing² mortall of endlesse thing discusse?
 And rurall³ people in almes do excell 865
 Aboue all the sort which in the citie dwell.
 We geue wooll and cheese, our wiues coyne and egges
 When freers flatter and prayse⁴ their proper legges.⁵
 For a score of pinnes, and needles two or three⁶
 A gentle cluner⁷ two cheeses had of me. 870
 Phillis gaue coyne because he did her charme,
 Euer sith that time lesse hath she felt of harme.
 Yet is in the citie a number incurable,
 Pleaders and brokers a foule and shamefull⁸ rable,
 Merchauntes of Iustice, hunters of riches, 875
 Cratchers of coyne, delayers of processe,
 Prolonging causes, and making wrong of right,
 And right of playn wrong, oppressing law with might,
 Iaylers of Iustice, their cursed couetice
 Watreth the plantes of crueltie and vice. D v 880

Esset opus: poterant nobis se ostendere. uerum
 Quando latere uolunt/quid uestigare necesse est.
 Quæ nos scire negant ipsi qui cuncta gubernant?
 Nostra etiam pietas pietate potentior urbis/
 Nanque uiri qui sacra canunt templisque minis-
 trant

Quanta legunt ruri paucis alimenta diebus?
 Vidi ego qæsitæ ex rure in mœnia plenis
 Pupibus inferri pietas ea rustica fruges.
 Stultorum est aliud genus immedicabile quoddam
 Causidici latratores/rabulæque forenses
 Nummorum aucupium docti/legumque tyranni.
 Ære patrocinium uendunt. producere causas
 Et lites pendere diu/uindemia quædam est.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Amintas

This haue I proued by playne experience,
But tell me Faustus, what causeth this offence.

Faustus

The roote and the grounde of this misgouernaunce
Is fauour, rewarde, and wilfull ignoraunce:
When coyne or fauour once dimmed¹ hath the sight, 885
Aduē all Iustice, in prison layde is right.
Yet be in townes a rable fraudulent,
Murtherers of people, and free of punishment:
Uaunting and boasting them selfe of medicine,
And naught perceyuing of science and doctrine: 890
If they be fetred with ringes and with cheynes,
Then may they handle and touche priuy veynes:
Name all diseases and sores at their will,
Auoyde of cunning, of reason eyther² skill:
Suche ride on mules, and pages by their side, 895
But if they had right, on asses should they ride.
As touching rulers of all the commontie,
The more that they haue of hye auctoritie,
Of libertie, will, and singuler pleasure,
So much the more poore people they deuour. 900
The houndes sometime wont foldes for to keepe,
Be nowe wilde wolues, deuouring all the sheepe:
Rulers be robbers, and pillers³ be pastours,
Gone is the giding of godly gouernours.
O where be rulers maynteyners of Iustice, 905

Sunt & equestre genus medici/qui tangere uenas
Nonnunquam illicitas audent: & ponere quædam
Non intellectis temeraria nomina morbis.
His & si tenebras palpant/est facta potestas
Excruciandi ægros/hominesque impune necandi.
Qui uero in populis præsunt/hominesque guber-
nant
Quo plus iuris habent/quantoque licentia maior
Insanire solent tanto amplius/o ubi sancti

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Where be subduers and slakers of all vice?
Where be the frendes of mercy and pitie,
Sometime well ruling, not spoyling¹ the Citie?
Where be chaste rulers, iust, meke and liberall?
Chaunged is fortune, death hath deuoured all. 910
The worst remayneth, gone be the meke and iust,
In stede of vertue ruleth freewill and lust.
Where be the fathers right worthy an empire,
Of whom men coumpted gay tales by the fire:
Sometime with tales, and otherwhile with songe, 915
So driuing away the winter nightes longe.
Alas Amintas, nought bideth that is good,
No not my cokers, my taberte² nor my hood.
All is consumed, all spent and worne be,
So is all goodnes and wealth of the Citee. 920
The temples pilld do bitterly complayne,
Poore people wayle, and call for helpe in vayne:
Poore widowes sorowe, and children fatherlesse
In vayne bewayle, when wolues them oppresse.
Sinne hath no scourge, and vertue no rewarde, 925
Who loueth wisdom, his fortune is but harde.
Counsell and cunning nowe tumble in the dust,
But what is the cause? lawe turned is to lust:
Lust standeth in stede of lawe and of Iustice,
Whereby good liuing subdued is by vice. 930

Amintas

I tell thee Faustus, this hastynes of thee
Passeth the boundes³ of right and honestie.

Rectores/& iusticiæ/& pietatis amici
Quos patres sero ante focum memorare solebant?
Omnia nunc abeunt pessum. spoliata queruntur
Templa gemunt inopes/uiduæ lachrymantur: &
huius
Quænam causa mali? quia stat pro lege libido.
Fulca. Ista tua o cornix excandescencia fines
Transit honestatis. scelus omnibus obiicis omne.

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

All men thou blamest by wrath and hastynes,
As all Citizens were full of viciousnes.
What man remember, some liue in innocence, 935
Some in the Citie be partlesse of offence.

Faustus

I am not angry, I say but veritie,
Heare me Amintas one clause with breuitie:
As many todes as breede in Irelande,
And as many Gripes¹ as breede in Englande, 940
As many Cuckowes as sing in Ianuary,
And Nightingales as sing in February,
And as many whales as swimmeth in the fen,
So many be there in Cities of good men.

Amintas

A good man is geason,² not easy to be founde 945
On lande or in Citie, or ouer all the grounde,
Many thinges longe vnto a perfect man,
Aske that of Codrus, declare the truth he can,³
Badnes encreaseth and ouer fast doth growe.
Goodnes and vertue in comming vp be slowe. 950

Faustus

Thou art mad I trowe, so many foes haue we,
As dwell Citizens in all the whole Citie.
They clip vs, they poule vs, they pill vs to the skin,
And what they may get that thinke they well to win.

Innocuos habitare homines & in urbe memento.
Cornix. Non habitant colubri quædam balearibus arua
Proxima/non memini nomen/neque noctua cre-
tam

Nec nemus ægeriæ sonipes/nec uir bonus urbem
Fulica. Vir bonus est animal rarum: paucasque per
urbes

Et per rura locos habet/est rarissima uirtus.
Cornix. Insanis fulica insanis. tot in urbibus hostes
Sunt tibi quot ciues. hi nos tondentque/pilantque
Non habita nostri capitis ratione: coartant

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

To theft they constrayne vs, I tell thee by all halowes, 955
And after by and by they sende vs to the galowes.
Therefore it is reason if ought of theirs hap
Or come to our clawes, it priuily to trap.
They vs oft disceyue, disceyue we them agayne,
Deuise we slily, gile, subiltie¹ and trayne. 960
But this Amintas to me is greatest griefe
And doubt, for it is ill stealing from a thiefe.
If it be secrete, we may it well denye,
If it be knowen, excuse it craftly.
Priuy felony² though it be vsed longe 965
Is not called theft, but iniury or wrong,
All that they haue within these townes playne,
Is our harde labour, sore trauayle and great payne.

Amintas

Nowe thou exceedest the marke of equitie,
Thou passest reason Faustus I tell to thee. 970

Faustus

What then Amintas, have pacience a while,
Towne dwellers vices doth all the earth³ defile.
The ayre is corrupt by their enormitie,
These summer stormes whence come they, tel thou me:
Lightning, great windes, fluds, hayle and thunder, 975
I well remember, oft time the ground here vnder

Nos ad furta ipsi/mox ad suspendia mittunt.
Fas igitur si quid nostris sese unguibus offert
Radere. & insidiis ac nostra indagine captos
Deplummare leui tactu/sensim & pedepressim
Si uidet/excusa. si sunt secreta/negato
Furta/quod occultum est/non est iniuria furtum
Quicquid habent noster labor est/industria
nostra est

Fulica. Iam longe egrederis metam rationis & æqui.
Cornix. O fulica improbitas urbana coninquinat orbem.
Vnde tot in terras ueniunt æstate procellæ/
Fulmina/uenti/amnes/grando? uidisse recordor

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Right sore hath quaked, and caused houses fall,
 Vice of the Citie is roote and cause of all.
 The Sunne in midday oft time hath lost his light,
 In like wise the moone in season of the night. 980
 Both hath bene blacke, or els red as bloud,
 This signe Amintas pretendeth vs no good.
 Why growe the weedes and cockle in the corne?
 Why is hey and grasse oft times all forlorne?
 Why lose we our seede, our labour and expence, 985
 Whence commeth murrayne¹ and grieuous pestilence?
 All these proceedeth by mad enormitie,
 And corrupt maners of them of the Citie:
 And worse is like² yet afterwarde to fall,
 If they not refourme their liuing bestiall. 990
 Whence came the furour of hardnes³ and battayle,
 Which causeth widowes their spouses to bewayle,
 Which bringeth with it all kinde of misery,
 As theft and murther, great death and penury?
 Forsooth in Cities this furour first began, 995
 To the confusion of many a doubty man.
 The Citie is well and ground originall,
 Both first and last of deadly euils⁴ all:
 Bred in the Citie was cruell Licaon,
 Bred among herbes was good Dewcalion. 1000

Tellurem tremere/ac postes/& tecta labare/
 Solem obscurari/noctu obtenebrescere lunam.
 Cur segeti lolium? messi dominantur auenæ?
 Vua in capreolos transit? calligine uerni
 Depereunt flores? mala parturit omnia nobis
 Hæc ciuile nefas/pariet quoque plura deinceps.
 Vnde uenit furor armorum/bellique tumultus
 Qui genus omne mali secum uehit? omnibus
 urbs est
 Fons & origo malis/descendit ab urbe lycaon.
 Deucalion Pyrrha cum coniuge rusticus. ille

The Egloges of Alexander Barclay

Among Shepherdes nourished was Rhenus,¹
And also his brother the mightie Romulus.
The cause of the flud in Citie first began,
Whereby was wasted nere euery beast and man.
Our Lorde destroyed fīue Cities for outrage, 1005
Reade where for sinnes he wasted one village.
I trowe when the world with fire wasted shall be,
The cause shall proceede and come of some Citie.
What shall I touche the sauour² and the stinke
Which is in cities, of gutter and of sinke: 1010
There men be choked with vile and deadly sent,
Here haue we odour of floures redolent:
I coumpt me happy which won in the village,
As vndefiled with citizens outrage.

Amintas

Haue done nowe Faustus, lay here³ a straw and rest,⁴ 1015
Fill we our bely with cruddes that is best.
Leaue we the Citie and all ciuill outrage,
Nowe is it season to turne to the potage,
After our diner is best⁵ in my minde
The rest to declare, if ought remayne behinde. 1020

Thus endeth the fifth and last Egloge of Alexander
Barclay, of the Citizen and the man of the countrey.
Imprinted at London in Paules Churchyarde by Iohn
Cavwood Printer to the Queenes Maiestie.

Cum Priuilegio ad imprimendum solum.

Intulit illuuiem terris. hic abstulit. ille
Abstulit humanum terris genus/intulit iste.
Si terra/ut perhibent/flammis abolebitur un-
quam/
Istud grande nefas ulla descendet ab urbe.
Fulica. O cornix iam pone modum sermonibus istis.
Audio iam dudum pueros de pulte loquentes.
Cætera/si quicquam superest post prandia dices.
Pulti indulgendum monet urbibus hora relictis.

FINIS

NOTES

Page 1

1. I have used the revised version which appeared in a quarto entitled:

‘Aulica vita, Et opposita huic Vita Privata: A Diversis, Tum Veteribus, Tum Recentioribus autoribus luculenter descripta, et in hoc Enchiridion collecta, atque nunc denuo in lucem edita, ab Henrico Petreo Herdesiano.’

It was published at Frankfort in 1578 and many mistakes which occur in earlier editions of the *De Miseriis Curialium* are corrected.

2. *Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini* (1405-1464), a typical Renaissance figure, was by nature a man of letters, and by force of circumstances a diplomat. A brilliant orator, with pronounced literary gifts, he became in the course of a distinguished career, bishop, cardinal, and finally, in 1458, Pope. In 1439 *Æneas* had been appointed Papal Secretary to Pope Felix V, but in 1442 he entered the service of the Emperor Frederick and accompanied him to Vienna. Here he became acquainted with Caspar Schlick, the head of the Imperial Chancellery and Frederick’s confidential adviser. His life at the Imperial Court was most unhappy and his treatise, the *Miseriæ Curialium* records his impressions of the lust, ambition, egoism and depravity of courtiers.

This treatise takes the form of a Latin letter to John Aich. *Æneas* is himself the best critic of his style, which never betrayed a struggle after polished Latinity, but was always easy and clear. He says:

‘My style of writing is unpolished and bald, but it is frank, and without trappings. I never write with labour, because I do not stretch after things which are too high for me, and which I do not know, but what I have learned I write.’

3. Humphrey Powell has ‘a que’ = ‘à queue.’
4. H.P. has ‘In this same maner.’
5. H.P. has ‘some in myrth & game.’

Page 2

1. Boccaccio. But Barclay seems to refer to his ‘*Genealogia Deorum Gentilium*.’
2. H.P. has ‘the.’
3. H.P. omits ‘in.’
4. H.P. prints ‘Dull slouth to eschew, my selfe to exercise.’
5. ‘Children must learn to creep ere they can go.’
Heywood. (‘Proverbs.’)
6. J. Humphrey Powell has ‘thynges.’

Notes: pages 2-4

7. Barclay is indebted to Mantuan's Dedicatory Epistle (dated 1498) which begins:

'Audi, o Pari, ænigma perplexum quod Oedipodes ipse non solveret. ego quinquagenarius et iam canescens adulescentiam meam repperi, et habeo adulescentiam simul et senectam. sed ne longa ambage te teneam, nodum hunc dissolvo. anno præterito, cum Florentia rediens Bononiam pervenissem, intellexi apud quendam litterarium virum esse quendam libellum meum quem olim ante religionem, dum in gymnasio Paduano philosophari inciperem, ludens excuderam et ab illa ætate Adulescentiam vocaveram. carmen est bucolicum in octo eclogas divisum, quod iam diu tamquam abortivum putabam abolitum.' He goes on to say that he now sends it forth in revised and augmented form. See *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*, edited with Introduction and Notes by W. P. Mustard. 1911.

Page 3

1. H.P. 'Procedyng in age . . .'
2. Cawood 'muse.' Spenser Society facsimile 'cause.'
3. H.P. ' . . . I called it by name.'
4. H.P. ' . . . with my playne sentence.'
5. H.P. has 'bothe laudes and vertue.'

Page 4

1. H.P. ' . . . is pleasaunt, fresh, lust and iolitie':
2. Humphrey Powell's edition differs in two important particulars. In the first place he gives two lines which have a genuine ring and which are not in Cawood's version. They follow on Barclay's appeal to the 'chiefe Shepherde' for succour in his work.

'To him for succour in this my worke I call,
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene,
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be
119 *That he, me direct, my mynde for to expresse:*
120 *That he, to good ende, my wytt and pen addresse.'*

Secondly, in Powell's edition occurs the statement:

'That *X Egloges*, this hole treatyse doth holde:
To imitate, of other Poetes olde,'

which opens up the vexed question of the fate of the 'quinque eclogas ex Mantuano' included by Bale in his list of the poet's works.

Notes: pages 4, 5

In his 'Scriptores,' 1557-9, Bale gives a list of Barclay's works, including:—

- 'De miseriis aulicorum,' lib. 1.
- 'Illustris poetæ novem musis.'
- (Vitam Georgii ex Mantuano.)
- 'Quinque Egloges, eiusdem,' lib. 1.
- 'Bucolicam Codri.'
- 'Eglogam quartam.'

He seems to have obtained his information about the 'Quinque Eglogas ex Mantuano' from a certain John Allen, for in the 'Index Britanniae Scriptorum' or Autograph Notebook, occurs the entry under Barclay's name:

'Ex museo Joannis Alen—
Mantuani Aeglogas quinque, lib. V.'

Alen is not to be identified with John Allen, the English divine (1476-1534), who was appointed archbishop of Dublin in 1528. Other references describe him as a painter or printer, thus:

'ex officina Joannis Alen; ex Joanne Alen pictore; ex studio Joannis Alen; and ex Joanni Alen pictore.'

It is significant that Bale alters the 'lib. V' of the 'Index' to 'lib. I' in his finished work. Some confusion is apparent, and perhaps the reference is simply to the fifth eclogue. Or perhaps the phrase 'ex Mantuano' implies 'on the model of Mantuan' and is meant to signify the five eclogues published later by Cawood. This is made the more probable by the fact that Alen volunteers no further information about Barclay's pastoral poems. He knew that Barclay had written five eclogues and concluded that they all derived from Mantuan. If this is the case, Humphrey Powell's 'X' must be regarded as a misprint rather than as a coincidence.

If Powell's 'X' is not a typographical blunder for 'V' it is very difficult to account for the complete disappearance of five eclogues from the pen of a writer so well-known to his contemporaries as Barclay.

3. H.P. has 'Some.'

4. H.P. omits 'and.'

Page 5

1. There is a slight probability that Barclay, in translating the *De Miseriis Curialium*, was following the example of Octovien de Saint-Gelays (1468-1502), Bishop of Angoulême, who included in his '*La Chasse et le départ d'Amours*,' 1509, a *débat* between a *Seigneur de court* and a *Seigneur des champs*. Saint-Gelays may have known the Latin work of *Aeneas Sylvius*, and was largely influenced by the '*Curial*'

Notes: page 5

of Alain Chartier. The resemblance between his *débat* and Barclay's poems is not striking. There is a certain rapprochement, but it proceeds no doubt, from the similarity of the subject-matter.¹ The *débat* may have suggested the propriety of discussing the miseries of courtiers in dialogue form. Moreover, Saint-Gelays was a bishop, and episcopal precedent carried weight with Barclay.

¹Octovien feigns to have overheard a conversation between a courtier and a country gentleman.

'Dans sa simplicité, ce dernier, avec une bonhomie pleine de finesse, expose les idées qu'il a de la vie à la cour. Il en énumère avec admiration les divers avantages, les joies et les plaisirs: c'est le côté brillant de cette existence. Mais son compagnon, à son tour, lui en dévoile les dessous lamentables, les vices cachés, les dangers de toute sorte, insistant particulièrement sur cette dissimulation générale, cette fausseté qu'engendrent une perpétuelle inquiétude et une continuelle rivalité.'

(Octovien de Saint-Gelays. *Essai biographique et littéraire*. H. J. Molinier. 1910. p. 164.)

The dialogue begins:

'Par dieu dist il/monseigneur des champs beau sire
Quant plus je pense/au train que nous menons
Sans scavoir quoy ne comment devenons
La court me semble estrange et merveilleuse
Vostre vie est meilleure et plus heureuse.'

Monseigneur des champs:

'Ha cest bien dit/monseigneur lescuyer
Vous aultres tous vous plaingnez teste saine
Et ne taichez/qua prendre et estuyer
Les grans honneurs et richesse mondaine
Plus amassez de biens/une sepmaine
Plus de plaisirs/de ioyes et de bon temps
Que ne faisons/si vi[vo]ns cent ans
Qui ne voyons/dedans noz maisonnettes
Fors petit peuple/et povres femmelettes.'

La Chasse et le depart damours.

'Faict et Compose par reverend pere en dieu messire Octovien de saint gelais évesque dangoulesme.'

The Colophon reads:

'Cy fine la chasse et depart damours nouvellement imprime a paris le viiii^e jour d'avril mil cinq cens et neuf pour Anthoyne Verard marchant librain, etc.'

Notes: pages 5, 6

2. Kendall grene: 'a kind of forester's green cloth, so-called from Kendal, county Westmorland, which was famous for its manufacture.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
3. Cockers: 'high-laced boots worn by countrymen, and mentioned in *Piers Plowman* and by writers until the reign of Charles I. They were made of rude materials, sometimes of untanned leather.' F. W. Fairholt. 'Costume in England.'
4. A wooden spoon was stuck in one side of his felt hat.
5. H.P. 'one hande.'
6. H.P. '... released him. ...'
7. H.P. '... in myddes of all his goode.'
8. H.P. 'Saue only that he, had lyued all his dayes.'
9. H.P. 'folde.'
10. Powerful fellow. Freke: a warrior, fighting man. M.E.: freke, a warrior, a man; O.E. freca. (Skeat and Mayhew. "Tudor Glossary.")
11. H.P. 'Peake' (the Peak of Derbyshire).
12. H.P. 'But to the Citie, he sayde, that go woulde he.'

Page 6

1. For the first six speeches of this Eclogue Barclay is indebted to Mantuan, Eclogue III, lines 1-37:

Faustus. 'Illa hesternæ ruens Baldi de vertice grando,
 Fortunate, fuit nobis innoxia (divis
 gratiastrarum quibus est custodia frugum)
 sed, veluti ex illis veniens ait Harculus oris,
 Veronensem agrum, pecudes et ovilia sic est
 demolita, casas et pastoralia tecta
 sic evertit, ut agricolis spes nulla supersit.
 agricolis etenim pecus est substantia, et arva
 his subjecta malis; grandi thesaurus in arca
 civibus est quem nulla queat contundere grando,
 nulla pruina, gelu nullum, nullæ aeris iræ.'

Fortunatus. Nescio quis ventos tempestatesque gubernat;
 id scio (sed neque si scio sat scio, sed tamen ausim
 dicere—quid? vitane ideo multabor in ipsa?)
 numina si, ut perhibent, orbem moderantur ab alto,
 extimo nil duos hominum curare labores.
 aspice quo tenuem victum sudore paramus,
 quot mala pro grege, pro natis, pro coniuge pastor
 fert miser. infestis æstate caloribus ardet,

Notes: pages 6-8

frigoribus riget hibernis; dormimus ad imbrem
cotibus in duris vel humi; contagia mille,
mille premunt morbi pecudes, discrimina mille
sollicitant, latro insidias intentat ovili
atque lupo milesque lupo furacior omni.
ut manus assiduo detrita incalluit usu,
squaluit os, barba obriguit, cutis aruit æstu,
una repentino rapit omnia turbine grando.
hoc Superi faciunt quibus inclinamur ad aras
et quibus offerimus faculas et cerea vota.
nescio quæ pietas et quæ clementia tantis
cladibus involvat pastores omnium egenos.

Faustus. Fortunate, scelus nobis hæc omnia nostrum
ingerit; ætherei sententia Iudicis æqua est.

Fortunatus. Quod scelus? an fuimus Christi vitæ insidiati?

Faustus. Iurgia, furta, iræ, Venus et mendacia rixæ.

Fortunatus. Quid meruere boni? nec enim scelus obruit omnes,
et tamen una omnes pariter pessumdat Erinys.'

2. H.P. 'as the olde.'

3. H.P. 'waxed.'

4. H.P. '... wors chaūce we nede not fere.'

5. 'sikerly': certainly, surely. M.E. sikerly (Chaucer); sikerliche (P. Plowman); O.E. sicor, sure, safe. (Bosworth, Toller.) (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 7

1. H.P. '... doeth our beastes oppresse.'

2. H.P. 'scurfy.'

3. H.P. 'With a litel might ...'

Page 8

1. 'Stockfishe': dried haddock or cod; 'haddokes or hakes indurate and dried with coulede, and beaten with clubbes or stockes, by reason whereof the Germayns caule them stockefysse,' R. Eden, Works (ed. Arber, p. 303); cf. *The Tempest* iii. 2, 79. The reason for the name is uncertain; Koolman gives the Low German form as 'stok-fisk,' and thinks they were so-called because dried upon 'stocks' or poles in the sun.' (Tudor Glossary.)

2. Cawood 'wot I well'; Spenser Society facsimile 'wot I will.'

Notes: pages 8-10

3. Cawood and Spenser Society facsimile 'heart.' H.P. has 'harde I.'
4. Parish Priest.
5. H.P. has 'Faules.' Cawood 'Fales.'
6. H.P. 'surely.'

Page 9

1. 'leasing': lying, falsehood, a lie. Cf. *Twelfth Night* I. v, 105. M.E. leesyng; O.E. leäsung. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. 'sterve': to die. M.E. sterve, to die, especially to die of famine. O.E. steorfan, to die. Cp. German sterben. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. has 'wherfore.'
4. H.P. has 'in some daie of the weke.'

Page 10

1. H.P. has 'haue kylled.'
2. 'Daunce the raye': rare expression. Cf. M.H.G. reie, rei, etc., and MLG rei, of obscure origin. The term means a kind of round dance. Cf. Chaucer, *House of Fame*, iii, 146.

"To lerne love daunces, springes,
Reyes, and these straunge thinges."

Cf. Skelton, *Replycacyon*, 169.

"The heritykes ragged ray."

3. Hurling: 'is an ancient exercise, and seems originally to have been a species of the hand-ball; it was played by the Romans with a ball called harpastum, a word probably derived from harpago, to snatch or take by violence. The contending parties endeavoured to force the ball one from the other, and they who could retain it long enough to cast it beyond an appointed boundary were the conquerors. The inhabitants of the western counties of England have long been famous for their skill in the practice of this pastime.' Strutt, *Sports*, p. 91.
4. To throwe the barre: frequently mentioned by romance writers as a necessary part of a hero's education. According to Hall and Holinshed a favourite exercise of Henry VIII.
5. To throwe the axeltrie: a rustic variant of throwing the bar. Strutt, *Sports*, p. 62.
6. H.P. 'Doo awaie . . .'
7. 'Carefull': full of care.

Notes: pages 11-14

Page 11

1. 'His hode all pounsed and *garded* lyke a cage.' Skelton, Bowge of Court.

Garded: trimmed, provided with an ornamental border or trimming. Cf. *Merchant of Venice*, II, ii. 164.

Barded: caparisoned or marked with stripes or bars. (Tudor Glossary.)

2. H.P. has 'by nede.'

3. H.P. has 'payne is.'

4. Cawood 'revilde': pleated, open at the neck all round. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.' Spenser Society facsimile 'reviled.'

5. 'And yet she will jet

Lyke a jollyvet.' Skelton, Elynour Rummynge.

To jet: to fling about the body, to strut about.

'I jette, Je me jamboye.' Palsgrave. French jetter (jecter), to throw. (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

6. 'For they wyll haue no losse

Of peny nor of crosse.' Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'

Crosse: an allusion to the cross which universally appeared on the reverse of the coinage at this time. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.'

7. 'Ye bost, ye face, ye *crake*.' Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'

To crake, to crack: to talk big, boast, brag. M.E. *crakyn*, to boast; 'crakere, bost-maker.' (Tudor Glossary.)

8. Wood: mad. M.E. *wood*; O.E. *wōd*.

9. H.P. 'Nought haue the wretches . . .'

10. H.P. omits 'by': 'I see experience.'

Page 12

1. H.P. 'Than nede in the court. . .'

2. See Note 1. p. 52.

3. Spenser Society facsimile 'iye.'

Page 13

1. H.P. 'But trouth is cōmitted, most greuous *faut* or crime.'

2. H.P. omits 'the.'

Page 14

1. H.P. 'deme.'

2. H.P. 'muche.'

3. Cawood 'Minalcas.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Minaicas.'

4. H.P. 'comytted.'

Notes: pages 15, 16

Page 15

1. and 2. H.P. 'maner.'
3. H.P. 'Sate. sectes'
4. Cawood 'hye' (but first letter smeared). Spenser Society facsimile 'bye.'
5. H.P. 'wold.'
6. 'mel': meddle, have to do with. M.E. melle, to mix. O.F. meller, mesler (F. mêler). (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 16

1. The allusion is to John Morton (1420?-1500), who was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, October 6th, 1486. The manor of Mortlake belonged to the see of Canterbury and was the occasional residence of the Archbishops, 'most of whom have dated some of their public acts from that place.'
2. 'won': to dwell. Cf. Shepheards Calendar, September, 184. M.E. wone, to dwell, O.E. wunian, to dwell. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'When tyme he lyued, some blamed him ywys.'
4. 'iwis': certainly, assuredly. M.E. iwis, certainly, truly. O.E. gewiss, certain. (Tudor Glossary.)
5. H.P. 'doth.'
6. Barclay is indebted to Virgil for his list of pastoral names. The incident related is most probably fictitious.
7. H.P. 'Whyle I was yonger, he came by our cotage.'
8. Alcock, Bishop of Ely 1486-1500, bore a reputation for sanctity which even Bale endorsed, writing that he was 'given to Learning and Piety from his Childhood, growing from grace to grace, so that in his age none in England was higher for holiness.'
He was successively Bishop of Rochester, Worcester and Ely. In 1462 he was made Master of the Rolls, and in 1474 Lord Chancellor. An eminent architect, he was appointed Controller of the Royal Works on the accession of Henry VII.
'His chapel at Ely, the Episcopal Palace and Great St. Mary's at Cambridge, alike bear witness to his skill and taste as an architectural restorer. He was a generous benefactor to the University of Cambridge, where he not only endowed Peterhouse, but founded Jesus College on the decayed nunnery of St. Rhadegund.'

Notes: pages 16-18

9. It is not necessary to seek a resemblance between the transparent allegory of these lines and the punning allusion in Mantuan's ninth Eclogue, line 213, to Falcone de' Sinibaldi, papal treasurer under Innocent VIII:

'pastor adest quadam ducens ex alite nomen.'

Alcock himself was accustomed to pun on his name.

In Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, Vol. 2, pp. 409-11, is a description of one of Alcock's sermons. On the recto of the first leaf is a woodcut of Alcock in the pulpit, with a cock on each side of him. Beneath this cut is the title: 'Gallicantus Johannis Alcock ep̄i Eliensis ad cōfratres suos curatos in sinodo apud Bernwell xxv die mensis Septembris Anno Millesimo cccc nonagesimo octavo.'

10 and 11. Probably an allusion to Richard Foxe (1448?-1528), Bishop of Winchester, Lord Privy Seal to Henry VII and Henry VIII and founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The 'butchers dogges wood' may be an indirect reference to his erstwhile secretary, Wolsey. Foxe was credited by Erasmus (who gives More as his authority) with the ingenious method of extortion later attributed by Bacon to Morton, and known as 'Morton's Fork.'

12. H.P. omits the second 'no.'

Page 17

1. H.P. '. . . to make comparison.'
2. Cawood 'death.' Spenser Society facsimile 'death.'
3. H.P. 'where as.'

Page 18

1. H.P. assigns the lines differently:

Coridon. 'I prairie the Cornix, procede, tell by and by.

Of court and courtiers, the payne and mysery.

Cornix. 'That were a longe mattier, and very harde to do.'

2. By and by: immediately. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'gay.'
4. H.P. 'that.'

The drinking episode is probably taken from Mantuan, Eclogue 9,

l. 22: 'pocula prende; fluet melius post pocula sermo.'

5. Spenser Society facsimile 'out.'

Notes: pages 19-23

Page 19

1. 'Sotte': fool. Cf. Skelton, 'Folys and sottys.'
2. 'Geke, or geck': scorn, hence object of scorn, fool. Cf. *Twelfth Night* v, 1. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
3. Difficult to locate. Probably Quanye, near Ely.
4. Trompington, Trumpington: a suburb of Cambridge. Cf. Chaucer's *Reve's Tale*, l. 1:

'At Trumpington, nat fer fro Cantebrigge,
Ther goth a brook and over that a brigge,
Up-on the whiche brook ther stant a melle.'

5. H.P. 'Godmanchester.' (In Huntingdonshire; not far from Cambridge.) This is probably the correct reading.
6. Æneas Sylvius continues: 'Repetenda est igitur paterna vox, qua ille STVLTOŚ esse autumat singulos, qui non coacte Principibus seruiunt. Clara vox, dura tamen fortasse nonnullis videtur. Sed audiant, quo pacto probetur.'

Page 20

1. H.P. 'in a twelue month.'
2. H.P. 'denaye.'
3. H.P. 'worthy.'
4. H.P. 'doeth to the court resort.'
5. H.P. 'gettyng.'
6. The Latin continues: 'Quas res melius longe cognoscemus, si, quæ sint Curialium desideria, & quos sibi constituent fines, præuiderimus.'

Page 21

1. Cawood 'fiue.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fine.'

Page 22

1. H.P. 'oft tymes.'

Page 23

1. A remarkable alliterative line. The allusion in the Latin to Frederic and 'Henricus Sanctus' is adapted to the taste of English readers, and is expanded into rather fulsome praise of the Tudor kings, Henry VII and Henry VIII.
2. H.P. 'Note al these vertues, of the saied princes all.'
3. H.P. '... except I vtterly.'

Notes: pages 24-27

Page 24

1. H.P. 'where.'
2. H.P. 'in right.'
3. H.P. 'Right well excusest, I thought not erst, trust me.'
'Sithene': since.
4. H.P. 'Not muche abuseth . . .'
5. Barclay has personified the Latin 'elleborus,' a name applied to different plants, all poisonous, used as remedies in mental diseases. Perhaps he was thinking of Heliodorus, the celebrated surgeon.

Page 25

1. Cawood: 'Siluius.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Stiuius.'
2. H.P. 'byshop.' Æneas Sylvius was appointed Bishop of Trieste by Pope Nicholas V, 1447. He was elected Pope in 1458.

Page 26

1. H.P. 'Which can by crafte, his place & tyme in weyt.'
2. H.P. 'Except he hath done.'

Page 27

1. This passage is preserved in a fragment, at the British Museum, consisting of two pages of Barclay's Eclogues.

The reading differs from that of Humphrey Powell's edition and from that of Cawood's.

Letters at the edge of the page are obscured.

Coridon. ' . . . at the leste way suche men reputed be
 . . . en of great honour/amonge the cōmonte
Whyle suche walke/in court or in strete
Eche man inclyneth/whiche them doth se or mete
 . . . othe the bonet/a becke at every worde
 . . . e man must nedys/gyue place vnto my lorde
 . . . his degre/birth/or promocyon
 . . . uche of the comons/haue salutacion
 . . . shortly to say/men do them more honour
 . . . han to the fygure/of Cryste our sauour.

Cornix. . . . as thou sayst/forsoth my Coridon
 . . . harke what they say/at last whan men be gone
 . . . n they salute them/in the deuyls name
 . . . d pray vnto god/that they may dye with shame

Notes: pages 27-29

... so doth many/by tourment and dolour
... an fykyl fortune/lykyth on them to lour
... suche as dothe stoupe/to them before their face
... ueth them a mocke/whan they be out of place
... one dothe whysper/suff in an others ere
... sayth this tyran is feller than a bere.'

2. H.P. 'in others ere.'

Page 28

1. H.P. 'Bisshop Siluius.'

The fragment continues:

'Lo this same is he/whiche by his bad counsell
Cawseth our prince/to be to vs to fell
Thys same is he/which rayseth deme and tax
This same is he/whiche strayneth men on rackes
This same is he/whiche cawseth all this war
Thys same is he/which al our welth doth mar
This is of com . . ns/the veray dedly mall
Whiche with these charges/thus dothe oppres vs al
Who hym displeseth/he beteth all to dust
Thys same is he/which killith whom hym lust
That all the deuyls/of hell/hym hence carry
That we no lenger/endure his tyranny.'

2. 'deme': disme, dime: a tithe.

3. H.P. 'taxes.'

4. 'mall': hammer, club; hence scourge.

5. The fragment concludes:

Coridon. 'Cornix my frende/thou spekest now to playne
I fere lest thys gere/shall tourne vs vnto payne
If any man be nere/be styll a whyle and harke.'

Cornix. 'I fere nat at all/now I am set on warke
Bisyde thys Coridon/in court most parte doth dwell
Flateres and lyers/Coriers of fauell
Iuggelers and dezers and suche a schamfull rable
Which for a dynner/lawd men no thyng laudable
But men circumspect/which be dyscrete and wyse
Doth suche vayne/lawdes vtterly despyse.'

6. 'Gere': talk, affair, business. (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 29

1. 'Curry fauell': one who solicits favour by flattery. 'Curry fauell, a flatterer, 'estriille faveau,' Palsgrave; altered to curry favour, 'A number

Notes: pages 29-32

of prodigal currie favours.' Holinshed. Chronicle II, 144. In earlier English 'Favel' occurs as the proper name of a fallow-coloured horse. The fallow horse was proverbial as the type of hypocrisy and duplicity, with reference to the 'equus pallidus' of Apocalypse vi. 8, which was explained as representing the hypocrites who gain a reputation for sanctity by the ascetic pallor of their faces.' (Tudor Glossary.)

2. 'pill': to strip, rob; hence, empty.

3. 'girne': to snarl, grin. Cf. Spenser F.Q. v. 12, 15. M.E. gyren, to grin. (Barbour's Bruce iv. 322.) (Tudor Glossary.)

4. Difficult to locate. Perhaps a pun is intended. It is quite possible that these lines veil uncomplimentary allusions to contemporary persons, but it is more than difficult to assign a definite identity to such mysterious individuals.

Page 30

1. H.P. 'gopes.'

2. place, office.

Page 32

1. The motive of the approaching storm is probably imitated from Mantuan, who used the same devise to close his second and third Eclogues, thus:

'Cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo
se agglomerent? critur grando; ne forte vagantes
tempestas deprendat oves, discedere tempus,'

and

'sed iam Vesper adest et sol se in nube recondens,
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres.'

2. H.P. 'Sometyme in the Court, in fauour great thei be.'

3. Both Cawood and Powell print 'Elaudus.' The 'As with one Nero named Claudus' is strange from such a scholarly writer as Barclay, and is probably to be attributed to carelessness or hasty work. The point is that Sejanus held office under the Emperor Tiberius, whose full name was Tiberius Claudius Nero Cæsar. Barclay's translation is misleading and suggests the later Nero, by name Nero Claudius Cæsar Drusus Germanicus.

This passage is evidence of Barclay's power of discrimination and sense of form. Æneas Sylvius discusses the futility of power and the danger it entails, and quotes famous examples to prove his point. He mentions Sejanus without describing his fate. This description, however, follows some lines further on, but the hiatus is avoided by Barclay.

Notes: pages 33, 34

Page 33

1. H.P. 'this.'
2. H.P. 'offence.'

Page 34

1. H.P. 'shortly.'

2. 'Collier of Croydon' seems to have been a proverbial expression, but the term may cloak an allusion to Rowland Philips, who was collated to the vicarage of Croydon in 1497, was a canon of St. Paul's and warden of Merton College, Oxford. He resigned his position at Croydon in 1538, and was esteemed, according to Holinshed, 'a notable preacher.' (Lyson's *Environs of London*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

Stow also refers to Philips as 'a famous and notable preacher,' while Fox, the martyrologist, gives the following anecdote: 'Rowland Philips was once preaching at St. Paul's against the art of Printing, at that time, lately introduced into England, and in the course of his sermon, uttered this sentence: 'We (meaning the Roman Catholics) must root out printing, or printing will root out us.' (Cf. *History of Croydon* by D. W. Garrow, p. 297.)

The connection between Croydon and the many references to colliers becomes clear in the light of the following passages from the *History and Antiquities of Croydon* by D. W. Garrow. 1818.

Page 195:

'Little could be said by ancient writers respecting the trade of this place; still, however, in former times Croydon was a town of some trade, and the commodities chiefly in request were Oatmeal and *Charcoal*; for the purchase of these, the markets were regularly attended by the London dealers and Innkeepers. Large quantities of Oatmeal were made here; and the *Charcoal* was made from the wood upon the adjoining hills, of which we are informed there was great abundance.'

Page 21:

'An antient description of Croydon in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says that the streets were deep hollow ways, and very dirty, the houses generally with wood steps into them, and darkened by large trees growing before them—that the inhabitants in general were smiths and *colliers*.'

'Thomas Peend, in the fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, written in 1565, says that Vulcan, a 'Croydon sanguine right did seeme' In the tragedy of Locrine, occurs the well-known distich,

'The Colliers of Croydon,
The Rustics of Roydon.'

Notes: pages 34-37

And 'Grim the Collier of Croydon, or the Devil and his Dame, with the Devil and St. Dunstan,' is the title of a comedy in 1662.'

Garrow quotes also an 'extract from a poem written by Patrick Hannay, Gent., and printed in 1662, in which he gives a minute though not a favourable description of the town of Croydon.'

Page 24:

'In midst of these¹ stands Croydon cloath'd in blacke,
In a low bottome sinke of all these hills:
And is receipt of all the durtie wracke,
Which from their tops still in abundance trils.
The vnpau'd lanes with muddie mire it fills,
If one shower fall, or if that blessing stay,
You may well smell, but neuer see your way.

.....
And those who there inhabit, suting well
With such a place, doe either nigros seeme
Or harbingers for Pluto, prince of hell;
Or his fire-beaters one might rightlly deeme,
There sight would make a soull of hell to dreame;
Besmear'd with sut, and breathing pitchie smoake,
Which, saue themselues, a liuing wight would choke.
These with the Demi-gods still disagreeing
(As vice with vertue euer is at iarre)
With all who in the pleasant woods haue being
Doe vndertake an euerlasting warre,
Cut down their groues, and often doe them skarre,
And in a close-pent fire their arbours burne,
While as the Muses can doe nought but mourne.'

(Gent. Mag., Vol. lxxxii, p. 158.)

Page 35

1. H.P. '... we may examples see.'
2. H.P. 'hande.'

Page 36

1. H.P. 'or.'
2. H.P. 'of.'
3. H.P. 'for to be.'
4. H.P. 'bryng.'

Page 37

1. H.P. 'to put.'
2. H.P. 'Hath euyll wyll.'

¹ 'barren downes' formerly referred to.

Notes: pages 37-43

3. H.P. 'on man doeth . . .'

4. H.P. 'prince.'

5. H.P. 'furour.'

Page 38

1. H.P. 'se we.'

2. H.P. 'their.'

3. Barclay avoids this direct reference.

Page 40

1. It is remarkable that while Æneas Sylvius frequently quotes from Horace and Juvenal, and mentions his authority, Barclay almost invariably incorporates the quotations into his work without commenting on their source.

Page 41

1. Cawood 'pardie,' Spenser Society facsimile 'pardie.' (stop.)

2. 'grutch': to grudge, repine, murmur. 'I grutche, I repyne agaynst a thyng, Je grommelle.' Palsgrave. A Lancashire and East Anglian word. M.E. grucche. O.F. (Picard) groucher (O.F. grocer). (Tudor Glossary.)

3. H.P. 'Bestow it wele. . . '

4. 'force': to trouble oneself, care.

Page 42

1. Cawood 'thing,' Spenser Society facsimile 'thing.' (stop.)

2. H.P. 'gilte.'

3. 'trayne': trains: artifices, strategems. Cf. *Macbeth* iv. 3. 118. M.E. trayne: deceit. O.F. traine, 'trahison' (Godefroy.) Cf. F. 'traine': a plot, practice, device. (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 43

1. John Stow in his *Survey of London*, 1598, describes the Clink as being 'on the Banke' in the borough of Southwark. He says, 'Then next is the Clink, a gaol or prison for the trespassers in those parts; namely, in old time, for such as should brabble, frey, or break the peace on the said bank, or in the brothell houses, they were by the inhabitants thereabouts apprehended and committed to this gaol, where they were straitly imprisoned.' Of the Fleet he writes, 'Without Ludgate, on the right hand, or north side from the said gate lieth the Old Bayley, as I said, then the high street called Ludgate hill down to Fleet Lane, in which lane standeth the Fleet, a prison house so called of the Fleet or water running by it, and sometime flowing about it, but now vaulted over.'

Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. by W. J. Thoms, 1842, p. 151 and p. 146.

Notes: pages 44-51

Page 44

1. 'Thou makest me claw where it itcheth not.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)

Page 45

1. H.P. 'Roode of Some': Soham, near Ely.
2. H.P. 'for to had byd.'

Page 47

1. 'To rob Peter and pay Poule.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)

Page 48

1. The parish priest.

Page 49

1. The conclusion of the Eclogue with its motive of approaching storm is an echo of Mantuan, who used the same device in his second and third Eclogue. But it all has the appearance of originality.

Cf. Mantuan, *Ecloga* II, l. 172:

Cernis ut a summo liventia nubila Baldo
se agglomerent? oritur grando; ne forte vagantes
tempestas deprendat oves, discedere tempus.

and Mantuan III. Conclusion:

Flendum hodie nobis fuerat; nam tristia nocte
nescio quæ mæstis cernebam insomnia formis.
sed iam Vesper ad est et sol se in nube recondens,
dum cadit, agricolis vicinos nuntiat imbres;
cogere et ad caulas pecudes convertere tempus.

2. H.P. 'or.'

Page 51

1. For the beginning of the Eclogue Barclay is indebted to Mantuan, *Ecloga* II, ls. 1-16.

Faustus. Cur tam serus ades? quid te (iam septima lux est)
detinuit? gregibusne nocent hæc pascua vestris?

Fortunatus. Fauste, Padus nostros qui præterlabitur agros
creverat et tumidis ripas æquaverat undis;
nos, cura gregis omissa, privata cœgit
publicaque utilitas ripam munire diurnis
nocturnisque operis fluviumque arcere furemtem,
.....nam liquitur altis
nix hiberna iugis, implent cava flumina montes.

Notes: pages 51-55

Faustus. Se exonerant fluviosque onerant. sic flumina rursum
se exonerant pelagusque onerant; hominum quoque mos est
quæ nos cumque premunt alieno imponere tergo.

2. H.P. '... I dyd departe.'
3. Heywood has a proverb:
'When the belly is full, the bones would be at rest.' (Proverbs.)
4. H.P. 'lacke.'
5. Cawood 'lustely.' Spenser Society facsimile 'iustely.'

Page 52

1. H.P. 'for the tyme.'
2. H.P. 'flouds of great rayne.'
3. H.P. 'ground.'
4. H.P. by mistake assigns this speech to Coridon.

Page 53

1. H.P. 'tune.'
2. H.P. 'smyle.'
3. H.P. 'season.'
4. 'sapour': savour.

Page 54

1. H.P. 'enuy.'
2. H.P. 'clearely.'
3. H.P. 'your.'

Page 55

1. H.P. 'away.'
2. H.P. 'and of.'
3. H.P. omits 'in.'
4. 'harnes': the defensive or body armour of a man-at-arms; the defensive equipment of a horseman. Cf. *Macbeth* v. 5, 52. 'I can remember that I buckled his (the King's) harness when he went into Blackheath field.' Latimer, Sermon, p. 101. M.E. harneys: armour. (Tudor Glossary.)
5. H.P. 'or.'
6. H.P. 'Or an armye ready, arrayed to the warre.'

Notes: pages 56-63

Page 56

1. 'disgising': a kind of mumming or dramatic representation. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
2. H.P. 'byldyng.'
3. H.P. 'shadowed.'

Page 57

1. H.P. 'that.'

Page 58

1. H.P. 'pleasures.'
2. H.P. 'byldyng.'
3. H.P. 'namely to thy paine.'

Page 59

1. H.P. 'cloked.'
2. H.P. 'Some ar not content: . . .'
3. H.P. 'more of.'

Page 60

1. H.P. 'artes.'
2. H.P. 'this same.'
3. H.P. 'oft tymes.'
4. H.P. 'it is delyte.'
5. H.P. ' . . . which haue but littell skylle.'

The reference here is to Cornish, Crane and Kite of the Chapel Royal.

Page 61

1. H.P. 'durst.'
2. H.P. 'or.'
3. H.P. 'recounted.'
4. H.P. 'dede.'

Page 62

1. H.P. 'secrete.'

Page 63

1. H.P. 'with.'
2. 'French gise': in Tudor England a knowledge of the French language and social customs was "the accepted badge of gentility."
3. H.P. 'folke.'
4. H.P. 'the Princes.'

Notes: pages 64-70

Page 64

1. H.P. 'thou neades must.'
2. H.P. 'Yet neadest must thou, eschew season principall.'

Page 65

1. H.P. 'synne.'
2. H.P. 'contrary.'
3. H.P. 'sweare.'
4. The string of names is borrowed from Mantuan's fourth Ecloga, l. 176:
'Thestylis et Phyllis, Galatea, Neæra, Lycoris.'

Page 66

1. 'large bushes set': the Latin 'qui crines ventilant.' 'Bush': a bushy head of hair: a common use in the sixteenth century.
2. 'gambauld': gambol, frisk about.
3. 'feat': for featuously, feateously: elegantly, dexterously, nimbly. M.E. fetysly, exquisitely; fetys, well-made, handsome (Chaucer). O.F. fetis; Latin, facticius. (Tudor Glossary.)
4. 'gent': gracefully, elegantly.

Barclay probably derives his tone of coarse invective from Mantuan's fourth Ecloga 'De Natura Mulierum' and from Juvenal's Sixth Satire.

5. H.P. 'passed.'

Page 67

1. H.P. 'this vyle.'
2. H.P. 'more.'
3. H.P. 'them.'

Page 68

1. H.P. 'maiest thou.'
2. H.P. 'owne propre.'
3. H.P. 'It is with suche.'
4. H.P. 'but small.'
5. H.P. 'priuey.'

Page 69

1. H.P. 'there styll with.'

Page 70

1. H.P. 'women.'
2. 'Out of sight out of mind.' Heywood. (Epigrams upon Proverbs.)
3. 'Burnt child fire dreadeth.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)
H.P. has 'styll after dredeth fyre.'

Notes: pages 71-76

Page 71

1. H.P. 'or.'
2. H.P. 'odour.'
3. Saint Paul: beheaded on the Ostian Road just outside Rome, A.D. 67c.
4. 'To gather men wont . . .'
5. H.P. 'goodes.'

Page 72

1. 'potcroke': pothook.
2. 'broche': a spit.
3. H.P. 'some.'
4. H.P. 'early.'

Page 73

1. 'estate': man of rank, noble. F. estat, office, dignity, rank, degree which a man hath (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary.)

2. H.P. 'bytter.'
3. H.P. 'greter.'

For the humorous description of the troubles of a courtier at meal-times Barclay is indebted to the Latin, but he may also have known the fifth satire of Juvenal with which Æneas Sylvius was obviously acquainted.

Page 74

1. H.P. 'art thou.'
2. H.P. ' . . . be set to in the season.'

Page 75

1. H.P. 'baddest.'
2. H.P. 'nor.'
3. H.P. 'neades.'

Page 76

1. H.P. 'man.'
2. H.P. 'thou must go.'
3. Cawood 'sauour.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fauour.'
4. Cawood 'As.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Is.'
5. 'Muscadell': a rich, sweet-smelling wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
6. 'Caprike': a kind of wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

Notes: pages 76-81

7. 'Romney': a kind of Spanish wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
8. 'Maluesy': Malmsey wine. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
9. Genoa.
10. H.P. 'thrust.'
11. H.P. 'seme.'

Page 77

1. 'lowne': lazy, idle fellow.
2. 'limner': a limmer, scoundrel, rascal, rogue. Cf. Ben Jonson, *Sad Shepherd*, ii, 1. In common provincial use in the North country. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'thrust' (usual spelling in H.P.'s edition).
4. H.P. 'thy betters.'
5. H.P. 'shalte fynde.'
6. H.P. 'no tin store.'

Page 78

1. H.P. 'We maie therof haue plenty, whan we call.'
2. H.P. 'trouth.'
3. H.P. 'How rouleth my tonge now, that I without paine.'

Page 80

1. At a cheap rate, flesh being then at a discount. F. W. Fairholt. 'Citizen and Uplondyshmon.'
2. H.P. 'vncleane.'
3. H.P. 'sauce ne spice.'

Page 81

1. H.P. 'Oft tyme thy stomake, it causeth to rebuke.' 'Reboke': eructate.
2. 'Saltfysshe, stockfysshe, nor heryng,
It is not for your werynge.'
Skelton. 'Colyn Cloute.'
3. H.P. 'sauour.'
4. For this Æneas is indebted to Juvenal's fifth satire, l. 90:
'propter quod Romæ cum Bocchare nemo lavatur,'

though he fails to acknowledge his obligation.

Barclay probably did not understand the reference to Bocchar, so he avoided it. He avoids, too, a reference to Caspar Schlick which follows in the Latin.

Notes: pages 81, 82

5. Barclay omits the reference to Caspar Schlick which follows here:

‘Ego magnifico hero meo Caspari, Cancellario, gratias ago, qui me hac ex sentina immundiciarum detraxit, & ad lautam eius mensam deduxit: quamvis nisi ipse fuisset, iam Curiarum tædijs renunciassem. Sed persequar cœptum iter.’

6. This echoes Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 103:

‘vos anguilla manet longæ cognata colubrae
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca,
et solitus mediæ cryptam penetrare Suburæ,’

although again the obligation is ignored.

Page 82

1. H.P. ‘them.’

2. H.P. ‘lustes.’

3. H.P. ‘much dyuerse.’

4. H.P. ‘as weary, as dogge of the bow’: ‘as weary as a dog of hunting.’
A ‘dog for the bowe’ was a dog used in shooting; such dogs, being well trained and obedient, were taken to typify humble or subservient people.
N.E.D.

Cf. Chaucer’s *Friar’s Tale*:

‘For in this world nis dogge for the bowe,
That can an hurt deer from an hool y-knowe,
Bet than this Somnour knew a sly lechour.’

Merchant’s Tale:

‘And eek to Januarie he gooth as lowe
As ever dide a dogge for the bowe.’

Udall, Erasm. Apoph.: ‘He . . . with lacke of vitailles brought those chop-logues or greate pratlers as lowe as dogge to the bowe.’

5. H.P. ‘sweete.’

6. The description of the bread offered to courtiers Æneas takes from Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 67:

‘ecce, alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidæ iam mucida frusta farinæ,
quæ genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum;
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus
servatur domino.’

Notes: pages 83-85

Page 83

1. H.P. 'These fyll the belly all, if we hongre sore.'
2. 'bite upon the bridle': to be impatient of restraint. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. Cawood 'fell.' Spenser Society reprint 'felt.'
4. H.P. 'and.'
5. H.P. 'hye.'
6. Æneas Sylvius has a long passage on the rare fish prepared for the lord which he borrows almost wholesale from Juvenal, Sat. 5:

‘Interea Domini piscem, quem Corsica misit, vel Taurominitane
rupes. Sæuientia namque guttura satiare non sufficiunt nostra flumina,
nec maria: dum piscatores proxima quæque scrutantur retibus, nec
piscem sinunt in vicinia crescere. Ecce mox alium, qui longi latique
pectoris: nec non Squillam defert, asparagis vndique septam; Cuius
cauda nedum familiam, sed hospites quoque, si qui affuerint conuiuasque
despicit. Ille Murænam adducit ex Sicilia, quam inter Scillam et
Charybdin cepit, dum Auster se contineret. Quid Accipenseres, Trutas,
temulas, aut alios pisces enumerare attinet?’
Barclay omits this.

Page 84

1. 'Howe some of you do eate
In Lenton season fleshe mete,
Fesauntes, partryche, and cranes;
Men call you therfor prophanes.'
Skelton, 'Colyn Cloute.'
2. 'bittor': a bittern. Middleton. *Triumph of Love*, ed. Dyce, v. 289;
bittour, Chapman, tr. of *Odyssey*, v. 89; M.E. bitore. O.F. butor,
a bittern. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. 'heronsewe': hernesshaw, a young heron. 'Heronceau, an hern-
shawe', Palsgrave. M.E. heronsewe (Chaucer), Anglo-F. herouncel.
(Tudor Glossary.)
4. H.P. 'tables.'
5. The Latin echoes Juvenal, Sat, 5, l. 166:
'spes bene cœnandi vos decipit. "ecce dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri;
ad nos veniet minor atilis."'

Page 85

1. H.P. 'a.'
2. 'payne mayne': white bread of the finest quality. 'Payne mayne, payn de bouche.' Palsgrave. M.E. payndemayn. Cf. Chaucer, Rime of Sir Thopas:
 'Sir Thopas wex a doughty swayn,
 Whyt was his face as payndemayn.'

Notes: pages 85, 86

Anglo-French, pain demeine; Med. Lat., panis dominicus, lord's bread, bread eaten by the master of the house. (Tudor Glossary.)

3. 'manchet': a small loaf of white bread. Cf. Drayton, *Polyolbion*, Song xvi. 229. In provincial use in Yorkshire, Lancashire, and in the west country. Norm. F., manchette, 'pain à croûte dure, inégale, fait en forme de couronne.' (Moisy.) Probably the same word as F. manchette, cuff. (Hatzfeld.) (Tudor Glossary.)

4. H.P. 'stony.'

5. H.P. 'artès.'

6. This is borrowed from Juvenal; Sat. 5, l. 70:

'sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
salva sit artoptæ reverentia. finge tamen te
improbulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat.
'vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?'"

7. Æneas Sylvius has a paragraph on the delicious truffles procured for the prince, imitated from Juvenal. Barclay omits this, perhaps because he did not recognize the allusion to Claudius:

'Quod si Ver fuerit, et optata tonitrua cœnas maiores reddiderunt,
raduntur Tubera terræ, et vsque a Lybia deferuntur Boleti optimi,
quales edere solebat Claudius ante illum, in quo venenum vxor sibi
porrexit. Curialibus autem viles et ancipites Fungi ponuntur, et in
quibus sæpe mors editur.'

A passage on apples, likewise imitated from Juvenal, follows.

Page 86

1. 'sewer': an attendant at a meal who superintended the seating of the guests, and the tasting and serving of the dishes. Cf. *Macbeth* i. 7. Stage Direction. M.E. sewer at the mete, seware at mete. O.F. asseoir, 'en parlant du service de la table, qui fait asseoir' (Godefroy), Pop. Lat. assedatorem (acc.) one who sets, places, deriv. of assedare, to set, place. Cf. Norm. F. aseer, to place. (Tudor Glossary.)

The term 'dapifer Camerae,' 'Sewer of the Chamber' frequently occurs. The office was an honorary one and was held by a 'generosus,' 'gentleman.' John Heywood was 'dapifer Camerae' from 1552-58.

2. 'jape': jest, joke.

3. 'gobbet': piece, morsel.

Notes: pages 86, 87

4. Juvenal, Sat. 5, l. 120, has:

‘structorem interea, ne qua indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.’

Page 87

1. H.P. omits ‘at.’

2. H.P. ‘pleasure.’

3. ‘Jacke with the bush’: the expression is rare. Fairholt defines it as ‘Jack in office,’ and probably it means no more than this. But a remote personal allusion may be intended, ‘bush’ referring to the wand of office, or perhaps to the hair of a particular person. There seems to be some analogy between the term and the description of ‘savage men’ or ‘wodehouses,’ as they were called, who achieved popularity in public shows of the Tudor period. On page 203 of Strutt’s *Sports* is an interesting account of one of these:

‘When queen Elizabeth was entertained at Kenilworth castle, various spectacles were contrived for her amusement, and some of them produced without any previous notice, to take her as it were by surprise. It happened about nine o’clock one evening, as her majesty returned from hunting, and was riding by torchlight, there came suddenly out of the wood, by the roadside, a man habited like a savage, covered with ivy, holding in one of his hands an oaken plant torn up by the roots, who placed himself before her, and, holding some discourse with a counterfeit echo, repeated a poetical oration in her praise, which was well received. This man was Thomas Gascoigne the poet; and the verses he spoke on this occasion were his own composition. The circumstance took place on 10th July 1575.’

Presumably the reference is to George Gascoigne, 1525(?)–1577, who took part in the Kenilworth celebrations.

4. ‘taunt with a chek’: a check was a taunting call, a bitter reproach (N.E.D.)

5. The ‘quasi casus’ is a difficulty. The reading of the 1468 edition of Æneas Sylvius’s work is ‘tractus,’ subsequent editions having ‘casus,’ ‘tractus’ or ‘chacus,’ a proof that some confusion existed here. A comparison with Juvenal points to ‘cacus’ as the correct reading:

‘duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus,
et ponere foris, si quid tentaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina.’ (Sat. 5, l. 125.)

Notes: pages 87-96

Barclay knew his Juvenal and it seems that 'Jack with the bush' is simply vernacular for Hercules with his club.

Cacus, son of Vulcan, was a giant who dwelt on Mons Aventinus: having robbed Hercules of the cattle of Geryon, he was slain by him.

Page 89

1. H.P. omits 'it.'

Page 90

1. Cawood 'On a.' Spenser Society facsimile 'One.'
2. H.P. 'or of motton.'

Page 91

1. William Forrest uses this expression in his *History of Joseph the Chaiste*. In *Phyllip Sparowe* occur the lines:

'Troylus also hath lost
On her much love and cost,
And now must kys the post.'

'kiss the post': to be shut out of a house in consequence of arriving too late (there being nothing else to kiss but the door-post.) (Tudor Glossary.)

2. This may owe something to Virgil, Eclogue II, i, 10:
"Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus æstu
allia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentes."

Page 92

1. H.P. 'courser.'

Page 93

1. H.P. 'lyke.'

Page 94

1. H.P. 'wyll.'
2. '... Be a man neuer so greedy to win,
He can haue no more of the fox but the skin.'
Heywood. (Proverbs.)
3. H.P. 'vpon.'

Page 96

1. H.P. 'In lyke maner wyse, man vnrightwise.'
2. Cawood 'wil.' Spenser Society facsimile 'will.'
3. H.P. 'Athenence.'
4. H.P. 'Purposyng.'

Notes: pages 97-110

Page 97

1. H.P. omits 'he.'
2. H.P. 'blood.'

Page 98

1. H.P. 'count.'
2. H.P. 'slayne was.'
3. Some early Latin editions have 'Arracreonte.'

Page 99

1. H.P. 'ale.'
2. 'alonely': solely. From 'all and only.'

Page 101

1. H.P. 'bydde.'

Page 103

1. There is some ambiguity here. For 'not read 'more.' This reading is justified by the 'than' which follows.

Page 104

1. H.P. 'insured.'

Page 107

1. 'whittel': a small clasp-knife. Cf. *Timon of Athens* v, 1, 183. In general provincial use in this sense. M.E. thwitel, a knife (Chaucer) deriv. of thwiten, to pare or cut little pieces from a thing; O.E. þwitan, to cut out, cognate with Icel. þveit, a piece of land, common in place-names in the north of England, e.g. Seathwaite. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. 'prest': ready. Cf. *Merchant of Venice* i, 1, 160. An East Anglian word. M.E. prest (Chaucer) *Troilus and Crisseyde* iii, 917 F. prest, prest, ready, full-dight; prompt, quick (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary.)
3. H.P. 'flyeng.'
4. Cawood 'bottell.' Spenser Society facsimile 'battell.'

Page 108

1. H.P. 'the scabbed.'
2. Cawood 'almoste.' Spenser Society facsimile 'almost.'

Page 109

1. Cawood 'our.' Spenser Society facsimile 'out.'
2. 'bugs.' F. punaise.

Page 110

1. 'Or els thou to hym, art alwaie tedious.'

Notes: pages 111-116

Page 111

1. H.P. omits 'the.'
2. Cawood 'lay vp.' Spenser Society facsimile 'lay by.'
3. H.P. 'errant.'
4. H.P. 'scurfy waferers': waferer, a seller of wafer-cakes, 'frequently mentioned in the dramatists as employed in amorous embassies.' Chaucer says of them:

.....wafereres,
Whiche been the verray develes officeres
To kindle and blowe the fyr of lecherye,
That is annexed unto glotonye.'

Pardoner's Tale i. 17

Page 112

1. H.P. '... paieaunt of the play.'
2. Cawood. The phrase seems to mean 'common people,' and only occurs here. The Spenser Society facsimile has "slimmers": worthless fellows.
3. 'brothell': an abandoned wretch. M.E. brothell, a worthless fellow. (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 113

1. 'malgre': in spite of. F. malgré.

Page 114

1. 'clawe': stroke.
2. hang in a halter. (Fairholt.)
3. barbers. (Fairholt.)
4. H.P. 'the.'
5. H.P. 'thy.'
6. H.P. 'fader.'
7. H.P. 'Whan he the seyth, comyng if he syt.'
8. H.P. 'The yates be closed ...'
9. H.P. 'Shall laugh the to scorne, thou bathyng in y^e rayn.'

Page 115

1. contrivance: hence, secret of entrance.
2. & 3. Æneas Sylvius has a long and elaborate account of the dangers and atrocities of warfare which Barclay wisely omits.

Page 116

1. H.P. 'For wyther so euer, the court ...'
2. Cawood omits a line. H.P. has 'And do as they do, be it false or trew.'

Notes: pages 116-124

3. There seems to be here an implicit reference to the fifth Eclogue, and the lines may be taken as an indication that the Eclogues from Mantuan were composed before the three on the 'Miseries of Courtiers.'

Page 117

1. 'From post to pillar, wife, I haue been tossed.'
2. H.P. 'euyll.' Heywood. (Proverbs.)
3. H.P. 'cratchers': 'cratchers' of coin: people who 'scratch together' great wealth. (Fairholt.)
4. H.P. 'somewhat.'
5. Barclay avoids the reference to Caspar Schlick which follows here:
'Multa sunt, propter quæ Magnifico Casperi Cancellario teneor, sed in hoc quoque suæ magnificentiæ sum obnoxius, quia me non patitur salario meo frustrari sicut alios video, qui suum gemunt fraudari salarium.'

Page 118

1. H.P. 'all in.'

Page 119

1. 'quite': repay, requite.

Page 120

1. H.P. 'causeth.'

Page 121

1. H.P. '... ah man god auowe.'

Page 122

1. H.P. 'disdaineth.'
2. H.P. 'foes.'

Page 123

1. H.P. 'Destroy his landes, and sore his landes distayne.'
2. H.P. 'nothyng doo.'
3. H.P. 'the.'
4. & 5. H.P. 'wyues.'

Page 124

1. H.P. 'mouest.'
2. H.P. 'Thy harte and mynde, all thou to him inclyne.'
3. H.P. 'payne.'
4. H.P. 'Fen.'

Notes: pages 124-128

5. An allusion to Morton's sufferings in the Lancastrian cause. In 1483 he was arrested at the order of Richard III and confined in the Tower; later, at the request of Buckingham, removed to his custody at Brecknock Castle. He escaped and fled to Flanders where he remained until after the accession of Henry VII, when he was recalled.

6. H.P. 'their.'

7. Cawood 'before;' Spenser Society facsimile 'before,'

Page 125

1. H.P. '. . . Palace . . . Fen.'

2. 'dere': animal.

3. There is some resemblance here to Virgil's *Georgics* Liber I, line 480, where reference is made to the death of Cæsar:

'et mæstum inlacrimat templis ebur æraque sudant.'

4. The 'Shepherd Roger' is to be identified with Roger Westminster, prior of Ely, 1478-1500.

5. 'to pill': to plunder, to spoil.

Page 126

1. 'to hap': to wrap up; clothe. Cf.:

'The scheperde keppid his staf ful warme,
And happid it euer undur his arme.'

MS. Cantab. ff. v. 48. f. 53. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

2. H.P. 'Ile.'

3. H.P. 'drededefull Dromo.'

'Dreadfull drome' may be a reference to James Stanley, Bishop of Ely, 1506-1515, or to his deputy. It is hardly an allusion to Nicholas West, a very generous man, nor to Thomas Goodrich, 'a zealous promoter of the Reformation,' for he did not become bishop of Ely until 1534.

4. hinder.

5. H.P. assigns this line to Coridon.

Page 127

1. H.P. 'suche.'

2. H.P. 'yet alyue.'

Page 128

1. H.P. 'much on.'

2. H.P. 'nor Pytee.'

Notes: pages 129-136

Page 129

1. H.P. 'leadeth.'
2. 'ere': before.
3. Æneas Sylvius has a reference to himself which Barclay avoids:

'Refero Maximas Deo grates, qui mihi iam viro sequendi Principes animum tradidit, cum iam a parentibus virtutes aliquas sic acceperam, vt amplius amittere non possem. Quod si aliud non est, hoc saltem habes, quia nonnullas didici litteras, quarum essem omnino ignarus, si puericiam meam Curia suscepisset.'

Page 130

1. H.P. 'vnquietly.'

Page 131

1. 'deare': harm, annoy, trouble, grieve. M.E. *deren*, to harm, injure, grieve: O.E. *derian*, to injure, annoy. (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 132

1. H.P. 'of thei are.'
2. H.P. 'must.'
3. H.P. 'the warre.'
4. H.P. 'gyftes.'

Page 133

1. H.P. 'which lyue in.'
2. H.P. 'man.'
3. H.P. 'If.'

Page 134

1. 'to square': to quarrel.
2. H.P. 'rude rash &.'
3. H.P. 'suche.'

Page 135

1. H.P. 'Count all the townes, and officers eche one.'
2. H.P. 'What thyng they counsell.'
3. H.P. 'actes.'

Page 136

1. H.P. 'But breife to say all.'
2. H.P. 'shepherde.'
3. Æneas has a passage here which Barclay omits:

'Nihil de Clericis et Religiosis dixerim, qui cum Ioseph Pallium, cum Matthæo Telonium, cum Iohanne Sindonem, et cum Samaritana cupiditatis ydriam, iussi sunt relinquere.'

Notes: pages 137-141

Page 137

1. 'swallows': a 'swallow' was a hollow in the earth, hence a gulf or abyss, cf. the *Legende of Dido*, 179, 'the swolowe of hell.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

2. H.P. men, wyse.

Page 138

1. may, must.

Page 140

1. For his fourth and fifth Eclogues Barclay turned to Mantuan and took as his material the fifth and sixth Eclogæ. His fourth 'entituled Codrus and Minalcas, treating of the behauour of Riche men agaynst Poetes,' is a paraphrase of Mantuan's fifth, 'De Consuetudine Divitum Erga Poetas.' It was probably composed after the fifth Eclogue, for it shows considerably more independence of treatment. For the name Minalcas, and the idea of an elegy, Barclay is possibly indebted to Vergil's fifth Eclogue.

The Argument of the poem is an original piece of writing.

For the Latin I have used the first edition. The title-page reads:

'F. Baptiste Mantuani Carmelitæ Theologi adolescentia in
Æglogas diuisa. Ad Paridem ceresarium,'

and the colophon:

'Mantuæ Impressum per Vincentium Berthocum Regiensem Anno
domini. MCCCCLXXXVIII. Sexto decimo Kalendas Octobres.
Regnante in clyto & excelso Principe, Francisco Gonzaga. IIII.
Mant. Mar.'

2. 'pautner': a wallet, scrip. 'Pautner, malette.' (Palsgrave.) ME. paw-tenere, pawytner. F. pautonnière, 'a shepherd's scrip.' (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.) 'With his polutid pawtenar.' Skelton. 'Ware the Hauk.'

3. Both Cawood and Spenser facsimile 'Codurs.' Pynson prints 'Somtyme this Codrus/dyde vnder shadowe lye.'

4. 'drone': a bagpipe or similar wind instrument.

Page 141

1. Cawood 'had bene,' (comma). Spenser Society facsimile 'had bene.' (stop).

2. 'bourde': jest. F. bourde, 'a jeast, fib, tale of a tub.' (Cotgrave.) (Tudor Glossary.)

Notes: pages 142-147

Page 142

1. 'holte': a small wood or grove. M.E. holt, a plantation. Chaucer, Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*:

'Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth.'

O.E. holt, a wood. (Tudor Glossary.)

Page 143

1. The reply of Minalcas owes something to Mantuan's ninth Ecloga, lines 117-119:

'hæc loca, si procul hinc videas e rupibus altis,
pingue solum et multo vestitum gramine dicas;
quo magis appropias tanto magis omnia sordent.'

2. The last lines are a reminiscence of Mantuan's Ecloga X, lines 137-141:

'ecce caput tollit coluber linguaque trisulca
sibilat, infantur fauces, nepa livida tendit
bracchia, ventrosus profert vestigia bufo,
vipera per stipulam gradiens strepit. . . '

3. Minalcas answers with an echo of Mantuan's tenth Ecloga, lines 182-186:

'Aethiopes una quoniam nigredine sordent,
ille color nulli vitio datur; omnibus idem
vultus et alterius si quis rependeret ora,
et sua damnaret. pecori pecorisque magistris
fæx eadem, scabies eadem, cutis et color idem.'

4. 'gonge': 'Latrina.' 'Gonge, a draught, ortrait.' (Palsgrave.) M.E. gonge (Chaucer, C.T., l. 885).

Page 144

1. 'Caball': Latin caballus, horse.

2. Pynson prints 'Ye other shepherdes/which haue ynough at home.'

Page 146

1. Cawood 'time.' Spenser Society facsimile 'tune.' Pynson prints 'What tyme my wyttes/be clere for to endyte.'

Page 147

1. 'pilche': a coat or cloak of skins for winter or bad weather. Ultimately it was made of coarser materials. (Fairholt. *History of Costume*.)

Notes: pages 147-154

2. There is some resemblance here to Juvenal's third Satire, l. 147:

'Quid quod materiam præbet causasque iocorum
omnibus hic idem, si fœda et scissa lacerna,
si toga sordidula est et rupta calceus alter
pelle patet, vel si consuto vulnere crassum
atque recens linum ostendit non una cicatrix.
nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
quam quod ridiculos homines facit.'

Page 150

1. 'semblably': similarly.

Page 151

1. 'Some fyll theyr pot full
Of good Lemster woll.' Skelton. Elynour Rummynge.
2. 'scarlet': rich cloth, sometimes of a bright red colour, but often of other colours, as blue, green.
3. 'Her kyrtel Brystow red.' Skelton. Elynour Rummynge. Red: cloth or clothing dyed with red.

Page 152

1. 'pillion': a round hat. From the Latin 'pilleolum,' a small felt cap, a skull-cap. Cf. *Piers Plowman*,

'ne puten no pylion
On his pild pate,'

and Skelton's *Colyn Cloute*, in which mention is made of one who
'Taketh his pyllyon and his cap,
At the good ale-tap.'

Cavendish, in his *Life of Wolsey* mentions one who wore 'a round pillion of black velvet.' (Fairholt, *History of Costume*.)

2. 'grathly': carefully, exactly, properly, really, well. M.E. grayply, graydely.
3. Pynson prints 'A clerke a poete/combynd with a boy
'To haunt the muses/hath but lytell ioye.'
4. Cawood 'slumbreth.' Spenser Society facsimile 'sluumbreth.'

Page 153

1. Pynson prints 'I heule as a kyte/for hunger and for colde.'

Page 154

1. Cawood 'And.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Add.'
2. Both Cawood and Spenser Society facsimile 'stusted.' Pynson prints
'The purse well stuffed/bothe with syluer & golde.'

Notes: pages 154-157

3. 'warden': a large coarse pear used for baking; by popular etymology a keeping pear; 'Poire de garde, a warden or winter pear, a pair which may be kept very long.' (Cotgrave.) Spelt 'wardon.' (Palsgrave.) M.E. wardon(e). So named from Wardon (now Warden) in Beds. The arms of Wardon Abbey were argent, three warden-pears, or. (Tudor Glossary.)

4. 'shevers': sheeve, shive, a slice. In general provincial use. M.E. schyve. Cf. Icel., skifa, slice. (Tudor Glossary.)

A slice of anything edible, generally said of bread. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

5. 'prophitroles': 'pourfiterolle: a cake baked under hot imbers.' (Cotgrave.)

6. These lines bear some resemblance to Vergil's first Georgic, lines 1-5:

'Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sidere terram
vertere, Mæcenas, ulmisque adiungere vites
conveniat, quæ cura bouum, qui cultus habendo
sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
hinc canere incipiam.'

Page 155

1. 'frowise': perhaps connected with 'frowy,' stale or musty. Spenser uses the word 'frowie' in the *Shepheards Calendar*, VII, 111. 'Or like not of the frowie fede.' E.K. comments 'frowye, mustye or mossie.'

2. 'quacham': the N.E.D. quotes Barclay but offers no explanation of this rare word.

3. 'kemp': a kind of eel. (Palsgrave.)

4. Spenser Society facsimile omits the stop.

Page 156

1. 'Cosmus': Cosimo de Medici, the Elder (1389-1464), whose wealth was proverbial.

2. A reference to Colet, who was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505.

3. In his reply Candidus alludes to Umber, the pastoral name of Gregorio Tifernate, the eminent Greek scholar under whom Spagnolo had studied at Mantua. Barclay adapts this into a reference to 'the Dean of Powles.'

Page 157

1. Spenser Society facsimile has a comma here.

2. 'glowme': gloom, look melancholy or sullen.

Notes: pages 158-163

Page 158

1. mitres.

Page 159

1. Cawood 'Micene.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Miceus.'
2. The gratuitous reference to Morton is interesting. The identity of 'Edwarde,' however, is difficult to establish. Sir Edward Howard might possibly be intended.

Page 162

1. 'concend: from con + cendere = to kindle: hence, kindle, inflame. (N.E.D.)

Page 163

1. The reference here to the sons of 'noble lorde Hawarde' is misleading. Barclay seems to infer that Howard lost more than one son in the King's service. This, however, was not the case. Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, was created Duke of Norfolk for his prowess at Flodden. At the same time his eldest son, Thomas Howard, who subsequently became Duke of Norfolk, and who served under his father at Flodden, became Earl of Surrey.

Howard had a large family. By his first wife, Elizabeth Tilney, he had eight sons, five of whom died in infancy. The eldest, Thomas, succeeded to the dukedom; the second, Edward, Lord High Admiral, was killed in an attack against the French Fleet off Brest in 1513; the third, Edmund, was Marshal of the Horse at Flodden and was knighted by his father after the battle. His daughter, Catherine, became the wife of Henry VIII.

By his second wife, Agnes Tilney, Howard had three sons, the most distinguished of whom was William Howard, First Lord Howard of Effingham.

William Forrest dedicated his *History of Joseph the Chaiste* to Thomas Howard (1536-1572), Duke of Norfolk, and in his Prologue mentions several generations of the Howards.

'A certayne wryter, Alexander Barkeley,
In eloquent style, all voyde of rebuke,
The booke of Mancyne in verse did conveye,
.....

And to your noble Graundsyer Thomas,
Duke, as yee are, of lyke tytyle and style
He dyd yt commende, withe ornat peface.'

Notes: pages 163-166

Later he mentions:

'Your noble father, Earle of Surraye,
Howe (in hys tyme) to bookes he was bent,
And also endytyng manye a vyrylaye
In acceptatyon moste highe at this daye.'

Presumably Forrest is wrong in his data. The 'booke of Mancyne,' or the *Mirror of Good Manners*, was written at the request of Sir Giles Alington, and printed at the request of Richard, earl of Kent. Barclay dedicated his translation of Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, and also his 'Introductory' to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk (1443-1524).

This may have led to the confusion. His patron was great-grandfather of the Duke of Norfolk who was beheaded in 1572.

But there is a probability that Forrest, 'simple and unlearned,' and thinking of the fourth Eclogue with its praise of Norfolk and long elegy on the death of Sir Edward Howard, confused 'Mancyne' and 'Mantuan.'

Page 164

1. 'clergy': clerkly skill, learning.

Page 165

1. 'snite': snipe.
2. 'camous': camois(e). of the nose: low and concave; 'a Camoise nose, crooked upwarde as the Morians,' Baret, *Alvearie*; 'Camously croked,' Skelton. Elynour Rummyng, 28; camused, Ben Jonson, *Sad Shepherd* ii. 1. F. *camus*: having a short and flat nose (Cotgrave). (Tudor Glossary.) Dyce, in his notes to Skelton's works, suggests that there is a reference here to the personal appearance of the Rector of Diss.
3. 'dramess': dramas, plays. (N.E.D.)
4. The Latin has been expanded by Barclay into what has always been considered a covert attack on his contemporary Skelton.

Certainly a personal allusion of some kind is intended here, for the reference to the 'Poete laureate' is quite gratuitous. There was bad blood between Barclay and Skelton, and it is more than probable that the lines are aimed at the eccentric Rector of Diss.

Page 166

1. An unusually successful line.
2. deprived of.
3. 'Wilberton,' now Wilburton, near Ely.

Notes: pages 169, 170

Page 169

1. The allusion to Cornix is reminiscent of the similar allusion to UMBER in Mantuan's *Ecloga* IV, line 81:

'carmina femineis olim de fraudibus UMBER.

Iannus. dic Umbri, dic, si quid habes, meditare parumper
et verba et numeros; Umbri est memorabile carmen.'

Page 170

1. The description of the "Towre of vertue and honour, into the which the noble Hawarde contended to enter by worthy actes of chivalry," seems to have been inspired by the "Temple dhonneur et de vertus,"¹ of Jean Lemaire de Belges, the famous 'rhétoriqueur.' Lemaire's work, partly verse and partly prose, was called forth by the death of his patron, Pierre II of Bourbon, 10th October, 1503. He presented it in the first place to the Comte de Ligny, and on his death to the widow of Pierre, Anne of Bourbon. Largely pastoral in character, 'Le temple dhonneur et de vertus' celebrates Pierre and Anne under the names of Pan and Aurora. Lemaire represents Anne as weeping for the death of her husband and hearing a voice extolling him. He continues:

² 'Ceste miraculeuse resonance consolatoire ainsi parvenue aux oreilles de la dicte tres haulte princesse, elle et sa fille ensemble les cinq bergiere dessus mentionnez qui sont ses feaulx subjectz serveurs et vassaulx: Et les deux pastourelles ses subjectes et pedisseques: comme il luy sembla furent en ung momment transportez sur

¹ 'Le Temple dhonneur et de vertus: auquel sont contenus les chans des bōs et vertueux bergiers suppostz de Pan dieu silvestre/pareillement de bergières subjectes a Aurora: laquelle amène le jour en nature. Composé p. Jehan le maire disciple de Molinet.

Nouvellement imprimé a Paris.

On les vend a Paris en la rue neufue nostre Dame a lenseigne de lescu de France.'

Colophon—

'Cy finist le Temple dhonneur et de vertus ou sont contenus les chans vertueux des bons bergiers et bergières de Pan Dieu silvestre et de Aurora. Composé par Jehan le maire disciple de Molinet. Imprimé a Paris par Alain lotrian: et Denys janot.' No date.

J. Stecher in his 'Notice sur la vie et les œuvres de J. Lemaire de Belges' assigns Lothrian's edition to the year 1536. The first edition (1503) was published by Michel Lenoir.

² From J. Stecher's *Œuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges*.

The text is that of the first edition of the *Temple*, and differs in some particulars from Lothrian's.

une montaigne haulte et spectable dont le sommet surpassoit de beaucoup les nues errans en region aerine. Si estoit icelluy mont semblable a celluy qu'on nomme Olympus en Macedone: tant floury tant verdoyant et tant revestu darbrisseaulx aromaticques et dautres jolivetes de grant redolence: come se ce feust ung second paradis terrestre. Et en la plaine spacieuse et herbue se monstroient ung edifice sumptueux a merveilles a maniere d'ung temple antique en ouvrage, mais riche outre mesure en sa façon. Lequel donnoit de prime face esbahissement a l'œil, tant pour excellence de sa beaulté que pour la refflamboyance de lor et des pierres precieuses dont il estoit garni. A l'entree de ce temple y avoit un portail tout estoffé de fin marbre poli et enrichi delegant ouvrage, ouquel temple estoient posees tout de nouveau (comme il apparoit par la demonstration de l'œuvre recente) six ymaiges exquises et precieuses taillees de main si ouvriere qu'il sembloit mieulx de prime face que le supernel facteur des choses y eust mis la main, que Phidias ne Praxiteles jadis souverain maistre¹ de sculpture. Et estoient assises sur fermes embasemens dalbastre, en sièges de porphyre et couvertes de pavillons de cristal semez destoilles: Ces six personnages avoyant habitz et visages plus angeliques que feminins avecques riches diademes es leurs chiefz, leurs robes parsemees de lettres ytallicques faictes de perles bordure et orfaverie. La premiere reportoit tout plein de P.P. La seconde avoit des J.J. La tierce et la sixiesme des E.E. Et la quatriesme et cinquiesme portoyent aussi une mesme devise. Cest assavoir des R. R. Tellement que a les lire ensemble par ordre elles faisoient PIERRE. A ce tant beau spectacle saresta la duchesse Aurora toute esmerveillee tenant sa tres amee fille par la main. Et consideroit en soy mesmes le efficace de ce mistere. Melibee, Argus, Mopsius, Amintas et Titirus les cinq bergiers dessuditz avec Egle et Galatee estoyant occupez a regarder la speciosité incredible et richesse incomparable de ce beau temple par dehors et disoyent les uns que cestui leur bailloit intelligence et remembrance du grant temple du roy Salomon en Jerusalem ou de celluy de Dyane en Ephese.² Les autres doutoyent³ ensemble de la signification des lettres, dont les habitz des dictes ymages estoient couvertes. Lung disoit que la premiere qui avoit les P P estoit Pales la bonne deesse des pasturages. L'autre affermoit que cestoit Pallas, la deesse de Prudence. Puis ung autre soubstenoit que la seconde qui portoit des J J estoit Juno. L'autre affermoit que cestoit la deesse Isis. Et ainsi des autres. Et comme ilz perseveroyent en cest estrif, lesditz

¹ Lothrian: 'souverains maistres.'

² See Lothrian. The earlier edition has the unintelligible 'Dyane en pechez.'

³ Lothrian: 'disputoient.'

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personnaiges de maintien virginal qui sembloient estre statutes immobiles, dresserent tout doucement sur bout que a peine appercevoit on leur mouvement. Et de leurs bouches corallines prononcerent par ordre les dictiers cy apres escriptz, ung chacun des assistens faisant silence taciturne et sappareillant a escout comme pour ouyr le saint oracle d'Apollo en Delphos.'

These figures, Prudence, Justice, Esperance, Raison, Religion, Equité, make appropriate speeches.

The duchess and her escort prostrate themselves, and a second vision appears:

'Adonc apparut aupres des dictes princesses mere et fille ung personnaige de forme engelique ayant sa cheveleure blonde et recercelee et des belles esles azurees et purpurines aux bras et aux tallons, comme se ce feust Mercure le messagier des dieux. Mais il avoit escript ung aultre nom aux orfrais de son precieux habillement. Laquelle escripture estoit richement pourtraicte a or et a soye en ceste maniere ENTENDEMENT PARANIMPHE ET GARDE DES VERTUS.'

This personage addresses himself directly to the duchess, bidding her leave her 'tendreur feminine et monstre cuer et constance de princesse.' Anne regains her composure and the figure continues:

'Vecy le noble domicile: le final recet et la mansion esternelle des haults hommes qui ont entre les humains merité tiltres d'excellance. Cest le temple dédié a deux habitudes divines: cest assavoir honneur et vertu. Cest ledifice construit et fabriqué par la main des corps celestes, habité et peuplé seulement des benoistes ames et frequenté des bienheurez espritz.'

With great pomp 'six grans personnaiges' come to the entrance of the temple. These are Charles VII, Charles VIII, Filipes de Bourgogne, Jehan de Bourbon, Charles de Bourbon, cardinal, and Louys de Bourbon,

'evesque de Liege et duc de Bouillon.'

In the midst of this distinguished band Pierre II 'esté produit et représenté devant les throsnes deïfiques d'honneur et de vertu.'

At this sight the duchess 'estancha ses pleurs et donna fin a son gémir, louant Dieu tres devotement.'

Barclay has taken but little detail from Lemaire's 'Temple.' The 'montaigne haulte et spectable dont le sommet surpassoit de beaucoup les nues errans en region aerine' seems to have suggested Barclay's:

'High on a mountayne of highnes marvelous.'

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Lemaire's 'ung edifice sumptueux a merveilles a maniere dung temple antique en ouvrage, mais riche oultre mesure en sa façon' resembles Barclay's:

'.....the building olde,
Ioyned and graued, surmounting mans brayne,
And all the walles within of fynest golde.'

The six images at the entrance of Lemaire's Temple, Prudence, Justice, Equité, Raison, Religion and Esperance, roughly correspond to the virtues which enable men to enter Barclay's 'Towre'—'holy liuing,' 'wisedome,' 'godly behauour,' Justice and 'equitie.'

Moreover, Barclay follows Lemaire's lead in making well-known men inhabitants of the 'Towre.' It is possible that the English poet may have known and exploited Lemaire's 'Concorde des deux langages,' in which occurs a 'Description du Rocher sur lequel est assis le Palais d'honneur et le Temple de Minerve':

'Voicy le noble roc, qui les nues surpasse,
Des plus haute monts qu'on sache au monde l'outrepasse,
Dont le sommet atteint, l'air du ciel tressalubre.
Or est tout ce Rocher, divers, glissant et lubre.
Tres dur, agu, pointu, offendant piedz et palmes,
Et n'y croit alentour, ny olives ne palmes,
Mais seulement estocs, et arbres espineux,
Poignans, fiers au toucher, tortus et pleins de nœuz.
Tous les sentiers y sont, peu hantez, tost perdables,
Dangereux au monter, promptement descendables,
Et n'y va jamais nul, tant soit il grand et fort,
Qu'il ne luy soit besoin exercer maint effort.
Maint combat difficile, et mainte luitte aherdre
Le tout en grand danger, de corps, et ame y perdre.
Ains qu'il puist survenir au dessus du Rocher,
Veu que pour le garder qu'on n'en puist approcher,
Monstres y ha vilains, plus hideux que luittons,
Horribles laids, et ords, tous garnis de bastons,
Qui tant d'ennuy, et peine aux entrepreneurs font,
Que pour le plus souvent leur vertu ploye et fond.
Mais si par fortitude, et bien perseverer,
Ilz peuvent d'aventure, en aleine durer,
Iusques au fin plus haut, ou est la riche plaine,
Garnie de tous biens, de felicité pleine,
Lors ont ilz Belacueil, ilz ont repos eterne,
Gentil bruit triomphant, et bienheurté superne.'

The temple was difficult of access, the horrible monsters, the welcome to those who by fortitude gain entrance, and their eternal rest, are

Notes: pages 170-179

motives incorporated into the English poem. The idea of a hero overcoming prodigious difficulties is, however, dear to mediæval allegory, and Barclay's work is sufficiently ingenious and vigorous to justify its claim to originality.

Page 171

1. Most probably Sir Gilbert Talbot, of Grafton, Worc., Blakmere, Salop., Horshed and Balsham, Cambridge and London, deputy of Calais, Henry VII's steward of Tutbury and of Feckenham and chamberlain of North Wales. He distinguished himself in the campaign against the French in 1513 and lost a leg at Thérouanne.
2. Probably to be identified with Robert Curzon, knight or baron, of London and Ipswich, and captain of Hampnes Castle in Picardy. He took part in the 1513 campaign and is mentioned as 'Master of the ordnance in the Rearward.'

Page 172

1. Spenser Society facsimile, and Cawood: 'seemeeh.' Pynson prints 'Plainly he semeth/thus chaungyng his nature.'
2. There is a direct reference here to Vergil's *Georgics*, lib. IV, lines 437-442:

'cuius Aristæo quoniam est oblata facultas,
vix defessa senem passus componere membra
cum clamore ruit magno manicisque iacentem
occupat. ille suæ contra non inmemor artis
omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum,
ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque liquentem.'

Page 173

1. Pynson prints 'Was by this monster/ouercome and superate.'

Page 175

1. Pynson prints 'O dethe thou hast done/agaynst bothe lawe & right.'

Page 176

1. Pynson prints

'Who may I accuse? who may I put in blame?
God for deth/or fortune/or impotent nature
God dothe his pleasure/& dethe wyll haue the same
Nature was mighty/long able to endure.'

Page 179

1. Cawood: 'in bed.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Iu bed.'
2. The allusion to Cornix recalls the similar reference to Umber in Mantuan's fourth *Ecloga*, line 242:
'Carmina doctiloqui cursim recitavimus Umbri.'

Notes: pages 181-183

Page 181

1. Barclay's fifth eclogue, 'entituled Amintas and Faustus, of the disputation of Citizens and men of the Countrey,' is translated from the sixth of Mantuan, 'De disceptatione Rusticorum et Civium.'

This eclogue was probably composed before the fourth and the first three, as it exhibits a greater dependence on the Latin than the others.

2. W. de W. 'aspyed.'

3. W. de W. 'stode.'

4. 'brouche of tinne': 'these tin brooches were frequently worn as signs of pilgrimage; and were fashioned into figures of the saints at whose shrines they were distributed.' (Fairholt. Notes to 'Citizen and Uplondyshman.' Percy Society.)

5. 'There is nothing in this world that agreeth worse

Than doth a lord's heart and a beggar's purse.'

Heywood. (Epigrams upon Proverbs).

6. Cawood's edition, 'this comely slouch.' Spenser Society facsimile misprints 'the comely slouch': 'slouch': lazy fellow, an ungainly person. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

7. W. de W. 'getted.'

8. 'proper prim': neat girl. (Fairholt.)

Page 182

1. W. de W. 'pleasure had.'

2. The country as opposed to the town.

3. W. de W. 'Themselfe.'

4. Cawood 'sins.' Spenser Society facsimile 'sine.'

5. W. de W. 'blowys all with a fereful sounde.'

Page 183

1. W. de W. 'hewsys.'

2. W. de W. 'The streames frozen.'

3. W. de W. 'harmes.'

4. W. de W. 'smoke.'

5. W. de W. 'sterynge.' Cawood 'sturring.' Spenser Society facsimile misprints 'stirring.'

6. 'pulment': 'a kind of pottage, Pulmentorium, a pulment.'

'Nominale MS.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

7. 'frument'; frumenty or furmity: 'a dish still eaten by country folks, composed of wheat boiled in milk and sugar, and seasoned with spice.' (Fairholt.)

Notes: pages 184-187

Page 184

1. W. de W. 'bounde within.'

2. 'foot-ball': legends point to an early use of the game. It was so popular in London that in 1314 Edward II issued a proclamation forbidding the hustling of over-large balls within the city. In 1349 foot-ball and other games were forbidden by Edward III in favour of archery, and in 1389 and 1401 by Richard II. The game was banned in the sixteenth century by Henry VIII and Elizabeth. It seems to have been very violent. Sir Thomas Elyot in 'The Governour,' 1531, says of foot-ball, that it

'is nothyng but beastely fury and extreme violence, whereof procedeth hurte, and consequently rancour and malice do remayne with thym that be wounded, wherfore it is to be put in perpetuall silence.'

Stubbes, in his *Anatomic of Abuses*, 1583, has a stronger indictment. He describes the game as 'a develishe pastime,' and says:

'hereof groweth envy, rancour, and malice, and sometimes brawling, murther, homicide, and great effusion of blood, as experience daily teacheth.'

Football was not the prerogative of the male sex. In Philip Sidney's 'Dialogue between two Shepherds' occur the lines:

'A time there is for all, my mother often says,
When she, with skirts tucked very high,
With girls at football plays.'

At Inverness the married women played against the unmarried and were always victorious.

The old type of football persists at Chester-le-Street. (Strutt. 'Sports' ed. J. C. Cox. Page 95.)

3. W. de W. 'thryftles.'

Page 185

1. W. de W. 'drowne.' Drone = bagpipe.

2. W. de W. 'wantynge.'

Page 186

1. W. de W. 'I tell thee.'

2. W. de W. 'euerychone.'

Page 187

1. W. de W. 'scyence.'

2. W. de W. 'by other polecy.'

Notes: pages 188-191

Page 188

1. Cawood 'hath.' Spenser Society facsimile misprints 'haue.'
2. W. de W. 'thy lyttre.'
3. 'dawe': a (supposed) foolish bird; figuratively, a foolish person.
4. Cawood 'our.' Spenser Society facsimile 'out.'

Page 189

1. 'rowan': the second growth of grass in a season, the aftermath, the second crop of hay. In provincial use from Linc. and Worc. to Kent and Hants. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. Cawood 'faultes.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fautes.'
3. W. de W. 'mended.'
4. There must be some confusion here in the line:

'Nowe be we Faustus in hay vp to the chin'

for Faustus would hardly mention his own name. The editions of Cawood and Wynkyn de Worde agree in their readings, so the mistake may have occurred in the original manuscript, and is possibly attributable to the interchange of rôles.

5. W. de W. 'Fully thy promes.'

Page 190

1. W. de W. 'Faustus.'
2. W. de W. 'fourmed.'
3. W. de W. 'with.'
4. W. de W. 'two twynnes forthe she brought.'
5. W. de W. 'Whan god assysteth man worketh not for nought.'

Page 191

1. W. de W. 'Amyntas.'
2. W. de W. 'commynteth.'
3. W. de W. 'the.'
4. 'colling': to coll, to embrace. Still in use in Dorset and Somerset. O.F. *coler*, deriv. of *col* (F. *cou*), neck. (Tudor Glossary.)
5. 'bass': to kiss. 'Bas me,' Skelton, *Speke Parrot*, 106.
 'I basse or kysse a person, Je baise,'

(Palsgrave.)

F. *baiser*; L. *basiare*. (Tudor Glossary.)

Notes: pages 192-195

Page 192

1. Cawood 'babes finde': no stop. Spenser Society facsimile 'babes find.'
2. W. de W. 'supposynge.'
3. W. de W. 'sayde woman.'
4. W. de W. 'At the last.'
5. W. de W. 'rome': i.e. Rome.

Page 193

1. W. de W. 'and '
2. W. de W. 'promoteth.'
3. W. de W. 'Some squyers/knyghtes.'
4. 'pollax': a battle-axe.
5. 'haberiowne': a breast-plate.
6. W. de W. 'getton': 'a banner properly two yards in length.' (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
7. W. de W. 'shreues.'
8. 'caduke': crazy, frail. (Halliwell's Dictionary.)
9. Cawood 'Eue.' Spenser Society facsimile 'Gue.'
10. W. de W. 'fle she.'

Page 194

1. W. de W. 'fader cretour.'
2. 'pece': cup. (Palsgrave.) 'Cateria, Anglice a pese.' (Nominale MS.) (Halliwell's Dictionary.)

Page 195

1. 'driuell': to do menial work. A drivell was a drudge. 'A Drudge, or drivell,' Baret, 1580; 'A dyshwasher, a dryvyll,' Skelton, *Against Garnesche*, 26. M.E. drivil, a drudge, a menial. (Tudor Glossary.)
2. W. de W. 'Ryppynges.'
3. Cawood 'vnto scorne.' (stop.): Spenser Society facsimile 'vnto scorne,' (comma.)
4. W. de W. 'or.'
5. 'costard iaggers': itinerant apple-sellers. (Fairholt.)
6. 'daubers, or droupy water ladders': 'plasterers, or stooping water-carriers.' Skelton mentions 'the Irish water-lag.' (Fairholt.)
7. W. de W. 'fyrste in this wyse.'

Notes: pages 196, 197

Page 196

1. W. de W. 'dwelled.'
2. W. de W. 'dwelt.'
3. W. de W. 'our.' Cawood has 'out.'
4. Cawood 'yong'; Spenser Society facsimile 'yonge.'
5. W. de W. 'agayne.'
6. W. W. 'scorfy scoftynges.'
7. W. de W. 'A lyfe.'
8. W. de W. 'wall.'

Page 197

1. W. de W. 'shoulde.'
2. This speech is based on Mantuan's seventh Ecloga, lines 9-56. In the Latin Galbula says:

'Ut dixere patres, iaciens primordia rerum
(magna canam nobis quæ quondam tradidit Umber)
instituit Deus agricolas pecorisque magistros.
primus agri cultor rudis, immansuetus et asper
qualis humus segnis, lapidosa, rebellis aratro.
est ovium primus pastor, mitissima proles,
instar ovis quæ bile caret, quæ lacte redundat,
mitis erat, nullis umquam pastoribus asper.
de grege sæpe suo sacrum ponebat ad aras;
nunc ove, nunc pingui vitulo faciebat, et agno
sæpius, et magno divos amibat honore.
sic profecit apud Superos, sic numina flexit,
ut fuerit primo mundi nascentis ab ortu
tempus ad hoc cælo pecoris gratissima cura.
Assyrios quosdam (sed nescio nomina; curæ
diminuunt animum) Deus ex pastoribus olim
constituit reges qui postea murice et auro
conspicui gentes bello domuere superbas.
cum Paris Iliaca tria numina vidit in Ida
(aut Paris aut alius puerum qui obruncat ad aram)
pastor erat. quando cælesti exterritus igne
venit ad ostentum pedibus per pascua nudis,
pastor erat Moses, Moses a flumine tractus.
exul apud Graios Amphrysia pastor Apollo
rura peragravit posito deitatis honore.'

The 'Umber' of the Latin becomes in the English 'Candidus,' Cain and Abel are mentioned by name, the Latin 'apud Superos' becomes

Notes: pages 197-200

'with God omnipotent,' the Assyrian shepherds are enumerated, the 'apud Graios Amphraysia pastor Apollo' becomes 'also Apollo was herde sometime in Grece,' and the confusion of pagan and Christian elements is accentuated, for Barclay introduces the names of 'Pan, Silene, Orpheus, joly Tyterus,' and Saul into his version.

The Latin continues:

'cælestes animi Christo ad præsepia nato
in caulis cecinere Deum pastoribus ortum,
et nova divini partus miracula docti
pastores primi natum videre Tonantem,
et sua pastores infans Regnator Olympi
ante magos regesque dedit cunabula scire.
se quoque pastorem Deus appellavit, ovesque
mitibus ingeniis homines et mentibus æquis.
et, ne vana putes hæc somnia, nuper ab urbe
rus veniens picto perlegi hæc omnia templo.
sunt pecudes pictæ, parvi sub matribus agni
intellure cubant, ingens equitatus ab alto
monte venit, radiant auro diademata divum
et suspensa tenent vaga lumina prætereuntum.
non igitur mirum noster si numina Pollux
vidit; amant villas et oves et ovilia divi.
simplicibus præsens Deus est, offenditur astu.'

3. W. de W. 'no mercy.'
4. W. de W. 'selfe wyllynge.'
5. W. de W. 'as is.'

Page 198

1. W. de W. 'felde.'
2. W. de W. 'vnto my.'
3. W. de W. 'other kynges.'
4. W. de W. 'royalmes.'
5. W. de W. 'wryteth.'

Page 199

1. W. de W. 'hamayne.'
2. Cawood 'nor.' Spenser Society facsimile 'not.'
3. W. de W. 'glywerynge.'
4. W. de W. 'to grete.'

Page 200

1. W. de W. 'bothe in the . . .'
2. W. de W. 'the hostoryes.'

Notes: pages 200-205

3. In the Latin Alphus replies to his companion:

'Vera refers, pecori sic sint innoxia nostro
pascua, vidi asinum, vidi præsepe bovemque.
iam memini turbæ venientis, et ora videre
indica iam videor regum sua dona ferentum.
unum oro, quænam Polluci occurrit imago?
Galbula, si nosti, ne sit labor omnia fari.'

The fact that this passage is merely a translation from the Latin has been held to contradict Barclay's statement that he saw the pictures described, painted on the walls of Ely Cathedral. There is no need to doubt his statement. At this period many churches were decorated with frescoes, and at the present day there are traces of ancient colouring in the South Transept of the Cathedral. The Nativity and scenes from the life of Christ were favorite subjects. Apparently the frescoes at Ely survived the Reformation, for in an account of the Cathedral written in the reign of William and Mary occurs the phrase:

'The pillars are Carv'd and painted with y^e history of the bible, especially the new testament and description of Christ's miracles.'

4. W. de W. 'remembred.'

5. W. de W. 'me.'

6. Cawood 'cloathing.' Spenser Society facsimile 'clothing.'

Page 202

1. W. de W. 'of two ylles.'

2. W. de W. omits 'it.'

Page 203

1. W. de W. 'the wolde.'

2. W. de W. 'Pariury.'

3. W. de W. 'in.'

4. W. de W. 'the.'

Page 204

1. W. de W. 'apes, also houndes.'

2. W. de W. 'your.'

3. W. de W. 'dyseyueth.'

Page 205

1. W. de W. 'that.'

2. W. de W. 'in trappe.'

3. W. de W. 'in hete/wynde/colde and rayne.'

Notes: pages 205-210

4. W. de W. 'ply.'
5. W. de W. 'theyr.'

The first few lines of this speech are reminiscent of Mantuan's tenth Ecloga, lines 182-4. The English corresponds to the Latin:

'Aethiopes una quoniam nigredine sordent,
ille color nulli vitio datur, omnibus idem
vultus et alterius si quis rependeret ora,
et sua damnaret.'

Page 206

1. 'an apple-seller.'
2. 'glose': speak tenderly, flatter.
3. W. de W. 'gan.'
4. W. de W. 'flesshe.'
5. W. de W. 'nede.'

Page 207

1. W. de W. 'lette.'
2. W. de W. 'vpon londe.'
3. W. de W. 'haunteth.'

Page 208

1. W. de W. 'dammage.'
2. W. de W. 'medleth.'

Page 209

1. W. de W. 'good.'
2. An allusion to the Observant Franciscans, who had a convent at Greenwich adjoining the royal palace.
3. W. de W. 'they.'
4. Fairholt notes: 'The suburbs of London, and the streets by the water side, were notoriously infamous in the sixteenth century; and the stews in Southwark are particularly alluded to in Cock Lorel's Bote, as well as some other London localities, rendered infamous by the dispersion of water-side residents by the Bishop of Winchester who owned the property.'

Page 210

1. 'angles': corners.
2. W. de W. 'by god a vowe.'

Notes: pages 210-212

For the next three speeches Barclay is indebted to Mantuan's second Ecloga, lines 66-78:

Faustus. 'Rustica gens, nulla genus arte domabile semper
irrequietum animal, gaudet sudore. peracto
mane sacro festa (quando omnibus otia) luce
ipsa oti ac famis impatiens epulatur et implet
ingluviem. audito properat tибicine ad ulmum;
hic furit, hic saltu fertur bovis instar ad auras.
quam rastris versare nefas et vomere terram
calcibus obduris et inertі mole fatigat
ac ferit, et tota Baccho facit orgia luce
vociferans, ridens, saliens et pocula siccans.'

Fortunatus. 'Stulte, quid hæc faris? solatia rustica damnas
rusticus ipse? tuis malus es, tibi pessimus ipsi.'

Faustus. 'Dicta ioco fuerint.'

Page 211

1. W. de W. 'of the skye.'
2. W. de W. 'grete pleynte.'

Page 212

1. W. de W. 'comprehensyble.'
2. W. de W. 'thyne.'
3. W. de W. 'ruyall.'
4. W. de W. 'pryse.'
5. Skelton has a similar passage in *Colyn Cloute*:
'As many a frere, God wote,
Preches for his grote,
Flatterynge for a newe cote
And for to have his fees;
Some to gather chees;
Loth they are to lese
Eyther corne or malte.'
6. Chaucer says of his 'Frere':
'His tipet was ay farsed ful of knyves
And pinnes, for to yeven faire wyves.'
7. 'gentle cluner': A Cluniac monk. The Cluniac adaptation of the Benedictine rule was established by Berno, abbot of Gigny, who built and endowed a monastery at Cluny, A.D. 992.
8. W. de W. 'shamefast.'

Notes: pages 213-218

Page 213

1. W. de W. 'dymmeth.'
2. W. de W. 'other.'
3. Cawood 'pillers.' Spenser Society facsimile 'piliers.'

Page 214

1. W. de W. 'not spoylynge of the cyte.'
2. 'tabert': tunic or 'smock-frock.'
3. W. de W. 'bondes.'

Page 215

1. 'gripes': griffins.
2. 'geason': rare, scarce, uncommon. M.E. gesen. O.E. gæsne: barren, unproductive. (Tudor Glossary.)
3. W. de W. 'gan.'

Page 216

1. W. de W. 'subtyll.'
2. W. de W. 'Preue felony.'
3. W. de W. 'worle.'

Page 217

1. W. de W. 'Where cometh moryen.'
2. W. de W. 'lykely.'
3. W. de W. 'harnes.'
4. W. de W. 'dedely ylles.'

Page 218

1. W. de W. 'Rennus.'
2. Cawood 'sauour.' Spenser Society facsimile 'fauour.'
3. W. de W. 'there.'
4. Spenser Society facsimile, 'lay here a straw at.'
5. W. de W. 'is best as in my mynde.'

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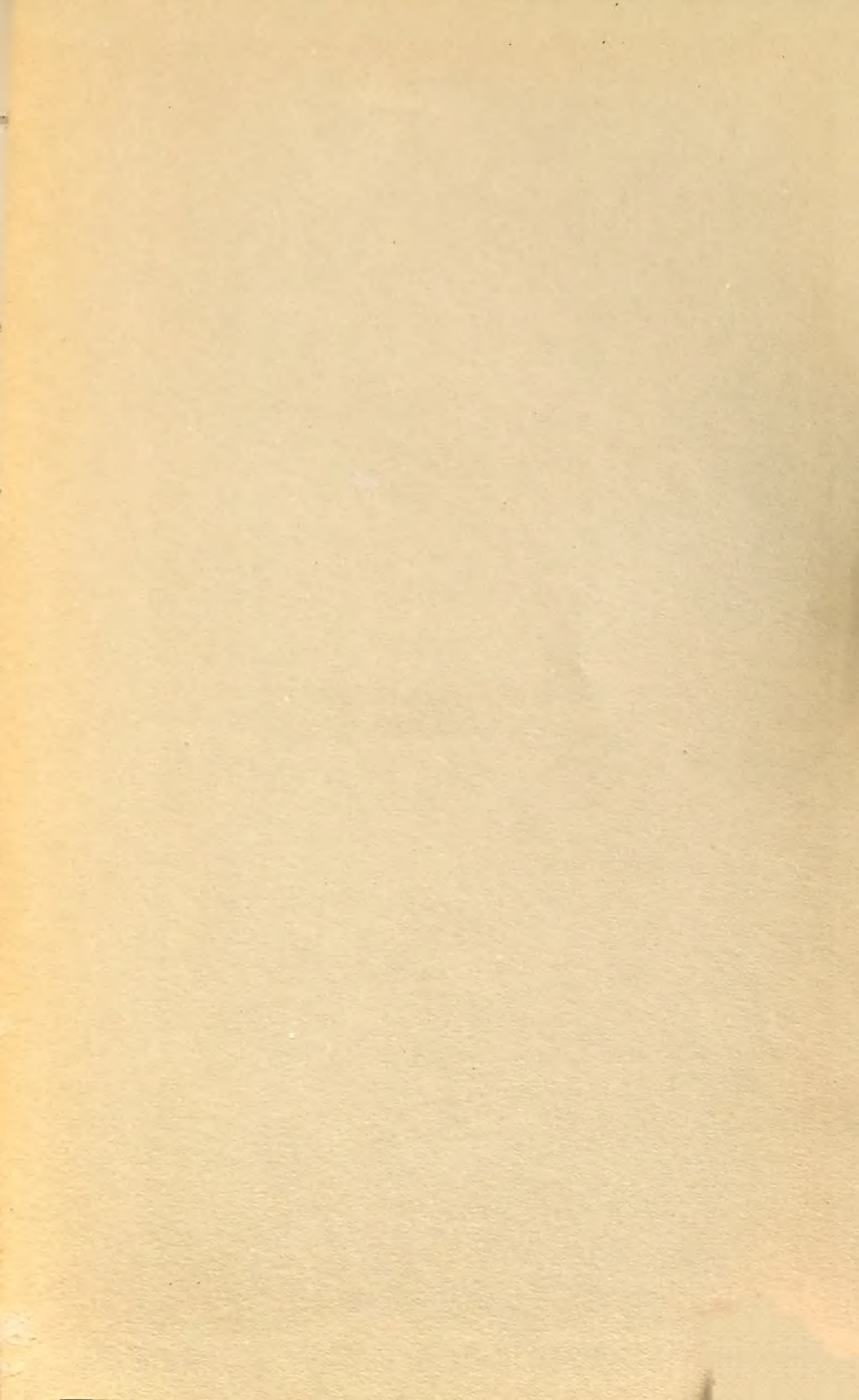
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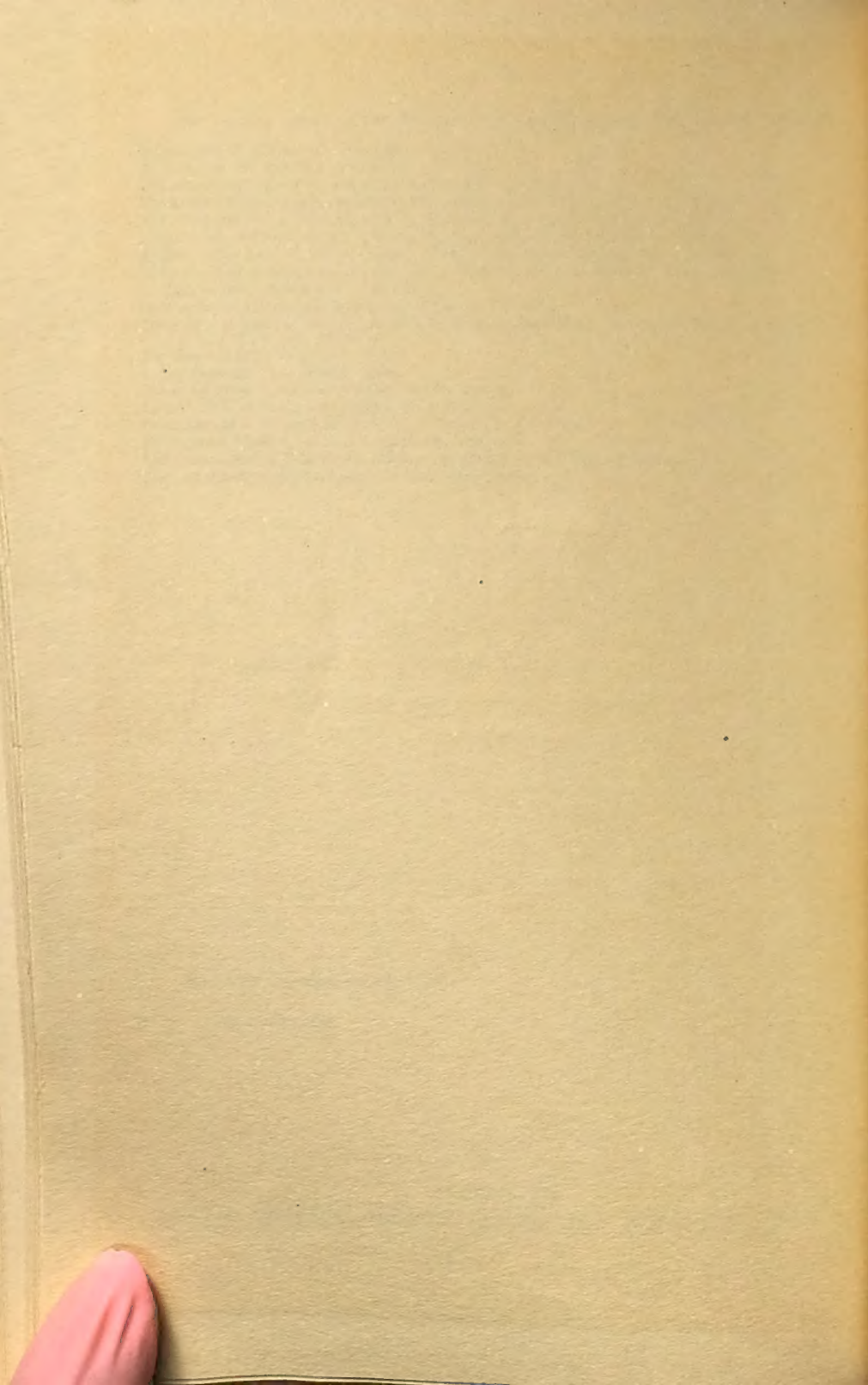
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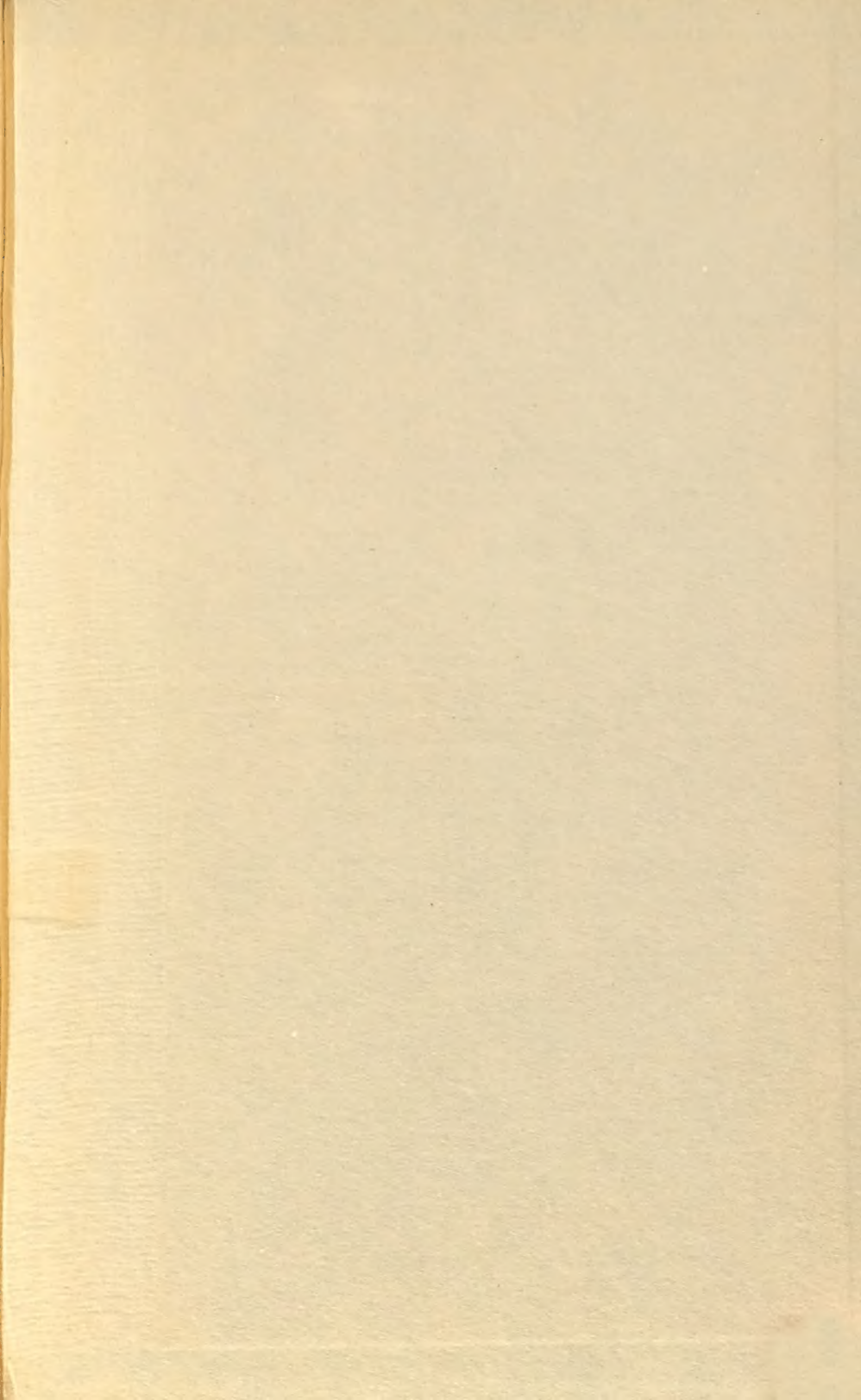
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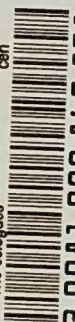




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